

**Time and Space Limited:
Community Art and Neighborhood Development
In Hudson, New York**

By

Christian Willauer

BA in Anthropology
Harvard University
Cambridge, MA (1992)

Submitted to the Department of Urban Studies and Planning
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master in City Planning

At the

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

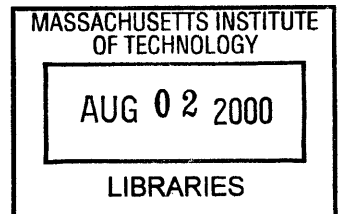
June 2000

© 2000 Christian Willauer

All Rights Reserved

The author hereby grants to MIT
permission to reproduce and to
distribute publicly paper and
electronic copies of this thesis
document in whole or in part.

ROTCH



Author _____
Department of Urban Studies and Planning
May 18, 2000

Certified
by _____
Associate Professor Ceasar McDowell
Department of Urban Studies and Planning
Thesis Advisor

Accepted
by _____
Associate Professor Paul Smoke
Chair, MCP Committee
Department of Urban Studies and Planning

**Time and Space Limited:
Community Art and Neighborhood Development
in Hudson, New York**

By Christian Willauer

Submitted to the Department of Urban Studies and Planning
on May 18, 2000 in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the Degree of Master in City Planning

Abstract

Facing disinvestment and unemployment, many places look to culture-based strategies for revitalization. Traditional models of culture-based community revitalization, however, have been criticized for contributing to gentrification, social polarization, and cultural discrimination. Communities seeking to avoid the contradictions of market-oriented culture-based revitalization strategies can look to the efforts of community-based organizations for models of how culture and the arts can contribute to revitalization without being limited to defining the benefits of their efforts solely in economic terms. In this thesis, I describe the efforts of one arts organization, Time & Space Limited (TSL), as an example of this process. Through an in-depth case study, I describe the role of TSL, a community-based arts organization, in creating an alternative strategy for community revitalization through the arts in Hudson, New York.

Thesis Supervisor: Ceasar L. McDowell

Title: Associate Professor of Practice, Director, Center for Reflective Community Practice

Acknowledgements

Many thanks to my thesis committee, Ceasar McDowell and Mark Schuster, for all of their help in developing the ideas that I have tried to explore in this thesis. In particular, thanks to Ceasar for his thoughtful insights into the material and for pointing me in the right direction throughout the process, and to Mark, for his help in directing me to the literature and providing feedback on my writing. I also am very thankful to both of you in your commitment to helping me draw conclusions from this research when I was comfortable just writing an interesting case study.

Thanks to my Mom and Dad, for encouraging me to become myself and to explore new ideas. I'm happy I have such a fun and interesting family.

Thanks and love to Jen, for all of her love and support in graduate school and in my life. Without you, I would never be getting my MRS degree.

Most of all, thanks to Linda and Claudia, for taking the time to make TSL their life, and for being the creative, inspired, committed and generous people they are. I appreciate all the time they took in carefully explaining their work and their community to me, and I want to be just like them when I grow up.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction	1
Chapter 2: Literature Review	4
Chapter 3: History of Hudson	31
Chapter 4: Time and Space Limited	43
Chapter 5: Conclusion	81
Bibliography	91

Chapter I: Introduction

Culture-based revitalization strategies have become a common practice in urban planning. Cities across the United States and throughout the world seek to revitalize their downtown areas by supporting the arts and related development, such as tourism, retail, and hospitality industries. Culture-based revitalization strategies have an excellent image: they are considered engines of employment, because they are labor intensive; environmentally-friendly, because they generate relatively little pollution; renewable, because they make use of a resource, culture, that is a by-product of everyday life; and uncontroversial, because who, after all, can object to “art”?

But culture-based revitalization strategies as they are traditionally implemented are not as benign as they might seem. They can contribute to the growing polarization of American society by appealing primarily to a professional elite, by devaluing some forms of cultural expression at the same time that they showcase others, and by glossing over critical differences among different people in the community in their effort to remake the image of a place into something that has market appeal. In addition, they can contribute to gentrification and the displacement of low-income residents.

In this thesis, I demonstrate that culture-based revitalization strategies can be designed to avoid these contradictions. In contrast to many of the market-based models currently in place, culture-based revitalization strategies can be set up to be inclusive, to counter displacement, to encourage dialogue, and to validate different

forms of cultural expression. While government agencies often partner with developers to achieve market-oriented culture-based revitalization strategies, community-based arts organizations are best suited to generate community-oriented revitalization through the arts. By integrating community-oriented arts activities into more traditional culture-based revitalization strategies, communities can avoid many, but not all, of the more destructive impacts of strategies that emphasize marketing, tourism, and economic development. In addition, by defining the value of the arts in other than solely economic terms, culture-based revitalization strategies can integrate the idea that art has an intrinsic value within communities.

In this thesis, I explore these issues in greater detail. This thesis is divided into two parts: the first part is largely theoretical, while the second part is an in-depth case study of one community, Hudson, New York that illustrates the theoretical concepts in the context of a real world example. Hudson is both affected by the contradictions of the market-based model of culture-based revitalization and has benefited from the activities of a community-based arts organization: Time & Space Limited (TSL).

The theoretical section of this thesis is contained in Chapter II, in which I examine why the current market-oriented model of community revitalization through the arts emerged and how it has developed. I discuss some of the contradictions produced by strategies that follow this model. Next, I examine alternative models that have been suggested by a range of urban planning professionals and academics. I argue that the major weakness of most traditional models of community-based

revitalization through the arts is their failure to define the value of the arts for communities in other than economic terms. The primary value of art for communities, I suggest, is not just economic, but also the positive role that art can play in building community. For examples of the benefits of alternative approaches to community revitalization through the arts, I briefly review the literature on community-based arts organizations.

Next, I turn to the case-study section of the thesis, which is contained in Chapters III and IV. First, in Chapter III, I discuss the history of Hudson, New York and explore how market-oriented strategies of revitalization based on culture, the arts and tourism have contributed to growing divisions within the community. In Chapter IV, I describe the role of TSL, a community-based arts organization, in creating an alternative strategy for community revitalization through the arts in Hudson. I discuss the history of TSL and how the organization developed its community orientation. Then I explore in detail the efforts of TSL in three areas: building community, creating public space, and bringing art. In the context of these discussions, I examine how TSL's efforts contribute to community revitalization by bringing people together, by creating opportunities for residents to develop a voice, by encouraging dialogue, and by bringing creative energy and artistic vision to the community-building process. Finally, I discuss how becoming a community-oriented arts organization has changed TSL itself. In Chapter IV, I conclude by suggesting ways to design and implement an alternative model for community revitalization through the arts.

Chapter II: Literature Review

Trends: Globalization, Flexible Specialization, and Polarization

The traditional model for culture-based revitalization grew out of several important social and economic trends that began in the 1970's. The first is the globalization of the economy and the increasing tendency of US corporations to export semi-skilled and unskilled work to locations in Asia, South and Central America, and Africa. In the same period, many industries have turned from mass production to increasingly specialized, flexible production for niche markets.¹ As a result of these dual processes, many old industrial cities in the United States and Europe that had been heavily involved in mass production lost their job base in the 1970's and 80's and fell into economic decline.²

At the same time that old industrial centers have declined, however, knowledge and infrastructure-intensive economic centers in the United States and Europe have grown. The United States and Europe have become increasingly important places for the coordination of the global economy, and flexible specialization and high-level managerial and finance sectors have exploded.³ Other service sectors, often catering to the demands and the disposable income of the new managerial class, have grown as well. Increasing numbers of people are employed in retail, leisure, and personal

¹ Scott, 1997, p. 326.

² Bianchini and Torrighiani, 1995, p. 28. For further discussion, see Bluestone and Harrison, 1982; and Kochan, Katz and McKersie, 1986.

³ Corijn and Mommaas, 1995, p. 3. For further discussion, see Sassen, 1991.

services, where the jobs are often low-skilled and low-paid, with limited prospects for mobility.⁴

These transformations in the economy have had profound social implications. Perhaps most importantly, economic inequality has led to a growing polarization of society.⁵ America's middle class, built on skilled manufacturing jobs, has eroded, and working-class neighborhoods in many cities have declined as a result. As highly skilled, well-compensated "yuppies" become more concentrated in highly segregated suburbs and gentrified sections of urban areas, increasingly they are spatially, socially and culturally separated from the growing number of people who work in low-skilled, low-paid jobs.⁶

At the same time that the economy and systems of social stratification have been transformed, sources of individual identity have also changed. Because of the increasing sophistication of telecommunication, media and travel technologies, many people have much more access and much more exposure to people and places outside of where they live. According to Jon Leonardo, "The global village in which we live causes many individuals to be conscious of standards of behavior and values which reach far beyond the immediate local surroundings."⁷

⁴ Bianchini and Torrighiani, 1995, p. 30.

⁵ Corijn and Mommaas, 1995, p. 32.

⁶ Bianchini and Torrighiani, 1995, p. 31.

⁷ Leonardo, 1995, p. 56.

Consumption and Social Identity

Due to all these trends, consumption has become an increasingly important indicator of social identity.⁸ According to Eric Corijn, “The purchase and consumption of goods has become adorned and fueled with aesthetic appeal, visual entertainment and cultural imagery. Consumer culture is used as a part of identity formation, a part of local lifestyle strategies.”⁹

The twin trends of 1) people become increasingly identified by and identified with the products they buy, and 2) companies facing the competitive global marketplace increasingly relying on niche marketing based on product differentiation¹⁰, have resulted in what is often referred to as “the commodification of culture.” Allen Scott explains, “Capitalism is moving into a phase in which the cultural forms and meanings of its outputs become critical if not dominating elements of productive strategy, and in which the realm of human culture as a whole is increasingly subject to commodification, i.e. supplied through profit-making institutions and decentralized markets.”¹¹

The changing relationship between culture and marketing has blurred the old distinction between “art” and “consumer culture”.¹² Glandomenico Amendola explains, “These days, it is possible to see an art exhibit or listen to chamber music in

⁸ Corijn and Mommaas, 1995, p. 8.

⁹ Corijn and Mommaas, 1995, p. 7.

¹⁰ Scott, 1997, p. 323.

¹¹ Scott, 1997, p. 323.

¹² Corijn and Mommaas, 1995, p. 7.

Bloomingdale's and buy furniture, cards, and gadgets at MoMa.”¹³ This blurring of distinctions has destabilized cultural hierarchies of so-called “high” culture and “popular” culture. At the same time, art has becoming more subject to the logic of the market.¹⁴ Increasingly, funders ask cultural institutions questions about meeting public demand, maintaining market orientation, and developing measurable indicators of success.¹⁵

The Significance of Consumer Culture for Places

But what does all of this mean for places? As culture becomes more commodified, and commodities gain more cultural content, culture does not become disassociated from place. Instead, the connection between culture and place becomes more complex. People are no longer exposed only to the culture of their immediate surroundings, such as their family, their city, or their region. Instead, cultural influences can come from distant, and diverse, locations. For instance, young white teenagers in American suburbs follow clothing styles developed by African-American youth in Los Angeles, and African-American youth in Los Angeles define themselves by wearing sneakers and designer clothing created in New York City and produced in Southeast Asia.

Contrary to some expectations, the declining role of proximity in defining cultural affiliations hasn't led to the development of a monolithic world culture. Instead,

¹³ Amendola, 1995, p. 76.

¹⁴ Corijn and Mommaas, 1995, p. 16.

¹⁵ Corijn and Mommaas, 1995, p. 16. Art was also subject to the logic of the market prior to the late 1960's, which led many supporters of the arts, including a number of foundations, to advocate for expanded government support of the arts beginning in the 1970's.

groups of people with different interests and identities each draw on more and more distinct, and often distant, cultural sources: Across the United States, young pre-teen girls listen to Ricky Martin, toddlers watch the Teletubbies, and yuppies take expensive vacations and drive SUV's. Increasingly, markets are made up of worldwide non-place cultural communities with specific, and often rapidly changing, tastes and preferences.

Places and the Production of Cultural Goods

Producers of cultural goods cater to these niches of consumers. Importantly, the products are all produced in places. All places have a unique cultural context that is a function of their history, their inhabitants, their economy, their landscape, etc. In particular, products with a high cultural content gain uniqueness from the cultural context of the places where they are produced. Producers can take advantage of this uniqueness to differentiate their products from things that are made in other places; for example, country music produced in Nashville is different from country music produced anywhere else.¹⁶ Scott explains, "The outputs of cultural-products industries are ...subject to the influence of peculiar imageries and sensibilities rooted in place and appropriatable by individual firms as competitive advantages."¹⁷

Many cultural goods, such as the music, style, and movies produced in LA, can be exported to consumers who make up niche markets in many different places. Again, Scott articulates the process well: "While the cultural economies of many cities today

consist of dense, complex and locationally-convergent groups of producers, they are also typically embedded in far-flung global networks of transactions. Their success, then, depends not only upon their ability to tap deeply into local sources of value-adding externalities and innovative energy, but also to project their outputs onto national and international markets.”¹⁸ Instead of leading to a global monoculture, the tendency for places to become locations for the production of cultural goods catering to niche markets leads to the differentiation and specialization of places. Santa Fe is associated with “Southwest” art and design but not filmmaking, and Orlando is associated with the Magic Kingdom but not youth fashion.

Places and the Consumption of Cultural Goods

In addition to being places where cultural goods are produced, cities are also places where cultural goods are consumed. Given the growing cultural content of consumption, buying a good in a particular place that has a particular cultural heritage often has a value of its own. For instance, going to gamble in Las Vegas is different from gambling anywhere else. At the same time, the growing consumption-oriented nature of culture means that enjoying culture is becoming more synonymous with shopping. According to Amendola, “People do not go to Covent Garden in London, Quincy Market in Boston, or South Street Seaport in New York to buy; they go in order to enjoy the atmosphere of the places. The

¹⁶ Because Nashville is considered the heart of country, most country musicians have to go to Nashville to make a career in country music, and so the connection between “country music” with the Nashville “brand” is self-perpetuating.

¹⁷ Scott, 1997, p. 333.

¹⁸ Scott, 1997, p. 334.

contemporary city user is a blend of consumer, spectator, and Baudelaireian flaneur.”¹⁹

In the same way that places have unique advantages as settings for the production of cultural goods, places have a unique advantage as settings for consumption. Cities can take advantage of their “monopoly powers of place” as settings for the consumption, as well as the production, of cultural goods. Scott describes how this process works: “Tourist destinations, each with a complex of interlocking production and service functions, and each luring consumers on the basis of some unique collective asset (physical or cultural) that is then made accessible and continually re-imaged as the local production system does its work of commercialization.”²⁰

The Development of Culture-Based Revitalization Strategies

The economic, social and cultural trends described above have all played a role in the growth of culture-based revitalization strategies for urban centers that have developed in the last twenty-five, and especially the last fifteen, years in the United States. Many cities have attempted to use the arts to spur urban redevelopment, attract new businesses, and compete with other cities and with their surrounding suburbs for growth.²¹ Below, I explore why this strategy has emerged and has been so prevalent. I then discuss how it has been implemented in various cities. I focus mostly on the development of culture-based revitalization strategies in the United States. However, I also include some discussion of Europe, because similar

¹⁹ Amendola, 1995, p. 77.

²⁰ Scott, 1997, p. 329.

²¹ Whitt, 1987, p. 16.

strategies have been implemented there, and because there is a relationship between cultural developments and revitalization strategies in the two places.

Arts have become integral parts of urban revitalization strategies in part because arts organizations, and arts affiliated industries like design, fashion and film, are one of the few sectors that have not declined in central city areas due to recent transformations in the economy. Between 1960 and the late 1980's, even as manufacturing moved abroad, and wholesale and retail trade relocated to the suburbs, there was a massive growth in public and private funding for the arts.²² Although the 1990's brought cuts in government funding for the arts, corporate sponsorship and private donations to support the arts remains high. Arts organizations, and artists, have been able to take advantage of the abandonment of center city areas by other enterprises to reuse old industrial and commercial space for arts-oriented activities. At the same time, arts institutions like museums and symphonies with long histories in downtowns have built new structures, and restored old ones, in areas that had often seen little new construction or restoration in years.²³ As long as thirty years ago, downtown growth coalitions, which traditionally included politicians and civic and business leaders, began to see the arts as a force in downtown redevelopment that could provide mutual benefit to pro-growth coalitions as well as arts institutions.²⁴ The American Council for the Arts claimed in 1970, "The arts, while not the most rapidly growing part of the service

²² Whitt, 1987, p. 28.

²³ Harvard Business School, 1983, p. 27.

²⁴ Whitt, 1987, p. 21.

sector, may be one of the most strategic and pivotal contributors to the economic life of the central city.”²⁵

Economic Impacts of the Arts

Advocates have justified culture-based revitalization strategies by arguing that the arts themselves can have significant direct and indirect economic impacts in urban areas. For example, *The Arts as an Industry* showed how the arts generated economic benefits through wages for artists and administrative personnel, purchases of artistic supplies and services, attendance fees, and money spent on restaurants, taxis, hotels, and shops. Partners for Livable Places has extensively documented how people attending arts events shop in nearby stores, eat at restaurants, and stay in hotels, while people shopping, working, and attending business functions patronize the arts.²⁶ A whole literature has grown up around redefining culture as an economic asset.²⁷

In addition to generating economic activity, proponents of culture-based strategies have also claimed that promoting culture is a means to attract private investment. They argue that the organization of production has become less dependent on ‘fixed’ natural resources and more dependent on ‘soft’ and ‘flexible’ resources, such as a city’s linkages to technological and transport infrastructures and labor market considerations like skill levels and training opportunities.²⁸ Some believe that the

²⁵ American Council for the Arts, 1970, p. 67.

²⁶ Kreisburg, 1983, p. 24.

²⁷ For instance, see Frey, 1989; Green, 1983; Heilbrun, 1993; Holbrook, 1987; McNulty, 1985, 1986 and 1992; Penne, 1986.

²⁸ Corijn and Mommaas, 1995, p. 4. See also Bianchini, 1995; and Gottlieb, 1994.

liveliness of an area's cultural milieu contributes to the innovative capacity and creativity of its residents, and so cities seeking to compete for knowledge intensive, innovative firms should foster an active cultural life.²⁹ Others argue that firms with a highly trained and highly mobile workforce consider whether the cultural settings of where they locate will satisfy their employees.³⁰ Paul Gottlieb summarized this idea: "Pools of technical professionals can only be maintained in an area that has a high quality of life and amenities that appeal to a managerial elite."³¹ Cities can best attract these businesses, proponents suggest, by promoting a cultural mix that will make the city attractive to high-tech and other knowledge workers looking for a fun and exciting place to live.

The Role of the Arts in Marketing Places

In the last twenty years, a third reason for the arts to be central to urban revitalization strategies has emerged. The breakdown in distinctions between producing culture and marketing products, and between consuming culture and enjoying places, has meant that promoting cultural activity is increasingly becoming tied to the marketing of places. Eric Corijn explains, "Central here are the role of the arts and architecture in the creation of cultural activity, the preservation and marketization of the local vernacular, and the stylized upgrading of local consumer spaces."³²

²⁹ *Culture and Neighborhoods Volume IV*, 1999, p. 13. See also Whitt, 1987; Cwi and Lyall, 1977; Friedrichs, 1993.

³⁰ Cwi, D. 1982.

³¹ Gottlieb, 1994, p. 272. See also Friedrichs, 1993.

³² Corijn and Mommaas, 1995, p. 14.

In the early 1980's, Louise Wiener, Director of the Carter Administration's Office of Cultural Resources, suggested that the real economic significance of the arts was to "provide a climate that attracts people, tourists and businesses."³³ The "climate" that arts activities provide adds value to everything that goes on around them. In the context of a culturally rich city, Almendola argues, "Even shopping becomes an urban adventure."³⁴ The attraction of New York City's Times Square is the bundle of ideas and images that people associate with New York, Broadway shows, theatre, show business, etc. Hotels, restaurants, and shops in Times Square can define themselves (and charge a premium for this association) in terms of being a part of Times Square. Developers and other private enterprises can take advantage of the cultural activities and institutions around them to enhance their monopoly powers of place.

Implementation of Traditional Strategies

Culture-based revitalization strategies have been implemented in hundreds, if not thousands, of cities and towns throughout the United States.³⁵ The three elements described above are clearly visible in many of them. For example, Harbor Place is a

³³ US Conference of Mayors, 1978, p. 10.

³⁴ Amendola, 1995, p. 72.

³⁵ Eugene, Oregon built the Eugene Performing Arts and Conference Center in 1982 and has focused on promoting the arts and its downtown ever since; Winston-Salem has created a multi-million dollar downtown cultural district with theaters, galleries, an art school, and a performing art center; New York built the South Street Seaport and redesigned Times Square; Boston is seeking to locate cultural facilities in the South Boston Seaport District; Albuquerque is encouraging the development of galleries and theaters in its downtown; the list is endless. Many cities in Europe have followed similar strategies. Old industrial cities like Glasgow, Sheffield and Balboa have used prestigious cultural projects as symbols of rebirth and economic and cultural dynamism. Cities struggling to resolve social conflict like Berlin and Derry have used cultural activities as symbols of reconciliation. Frankfurt and other cities have used cultural strategies to create an international image of modernity. Cities like Barcelona, Bologna and Hamburg seeking to cultivate knowledge-intensive industries and culture industries like fashion, crafts, high tech and design based manufacturing have used culture-based strategies as symbols of innovation.

multi-million dollar mixed- use development that combines, retail, housing, and cultural and entertainment facilities. The City of Baltimore heavily subsidized this project as a way to revitalize the downtown waterfront. An official described the goals of the project: “We have tried to combine animation, public events, image and economic development into a package, ending up with real dollars and cents for businesses and the city.”³⁶

Perhaps more than most other planning initiatives, culture-based revitalization strategies like the one in Baltimore have been implemented through partnerships between government, the arts, and private enterprises.³⁷ Government fosters downtown revitalization through tax breaks and other incentives for developers and by subsidizing new homes for arts groups. Developers build innovative mixed-use developments that contain both cultural and commercial elements,³⁸ and arts organizations create programs that have market appeal.

The close cooperation between developers, government, and arts organizations has broken down the traditional distinctions between them. Eric Corjin describes this process, “Former boundaries between cultural functions reproduced through the state (e.g. libraries, cultural centers, museums, theaters) and cultural functions reproduced through the market (commercial art, art galleries, poster art, design and fashion, video art, pop music) have become blurred. National and local authorities are confronting cultural organizations with criteria of public demand and market

³⁶ Hillman, 1983, p. 98-99.

³⁷ See Corbett, 1998; and Penne, 1986.

³⁸ Whitt, 1987, p. 29.

orientation. Private companies are incorporating culture (architecture, the visual arts, advertising) in their marketing strategies to adorn their firms and brand them with a distinctive symbolic value which will improve their market position. Local municipalities are enhancing artistic liveliness and supporting the development of fashionable architectural forms in order to improve their position in the increasing inter-urban competition for day-trippers, tourists, skilled personnel and the new knowledge-intensive industries.”³⁹

In many ways, culture-based revitalization strategies appear to have been successful. Many downtowns have been redeveloped with a mix of retail, entertainment, housing, and arts-oriented facilities. Areas that once were filled with empty buildings are now filled with commercial/cultural life.⁴⁰ But in other ways, culture-based revitalization strategies are problematic. In the next section, I discuss many of the common critiques of these strategies as they have traditionally been implemented.

Critique of the Traditional Model

The first source of criticism for culture-based revitalization strategies is whether or not they actually generate the benefits proponents claim they will. In the first place, research has shown that the direct and economic impacts of cultural activities may not be so significant or so desirable. Because spending on the arts, leisure and tourism is usually considered a luxury good, the success of a culture-based revitalization strategy is dependent on a wide range of external, uncontrollable factors such as consumer tastes and preferences, which may be fleeting, airline

³⁹ Corijn and Mommaas, 1995, p. 16.

prices, levels of disposable income, etc.⁴¹ Artists themselves often have unstable and low incomes, and many of the jobs associated with servicing cultural districts are low-paid, low-wage, and often seasonal positions in hotels, retail stores, and restaurants.

In addition, promoting cultural life may not be an effective strategy for attracting private investment. In “Amenities as an Economic Tool: Is there Enough Evidence?” Paul Gottlieb reviewed over thirty published studies from the theoretical, survey and econometric literature on locational decisions by firms. Gottlieb found that while high-tech and research firms did appear to pay attention to agglomeration economies that benefit their sector, there was no evidence that any firms sought out quality of life amenities to the exclusion of all other location factors.⁴²

Finally, promoting cultural life might also not always be an effective means of marketing places. When many cities are all using similar strategies, they risk saturating the market. According to Whitt, “To the extent that an arts strategy becomes common-place as a method of interurban competition aimed at attracting mobile capital, local advantages would tend to be canceled out.”⁴³

A further danger of using culture-based approaches has to do with the growing complexities of the relationship between culture and marketing. Importantly, most culture-based revitalization strategies target the same parts of the population:

⁴⁰ Corijn and Mommaas, 1995, p. 18

⁴¹ Bianchini, 1993, p. 202.

⁴² Gottlieb, 1994, p. 277.

tourists, suburbanites, white collar professionals. As producers seek to appeal to these niche markets, they tend to orient themselves to the tastes and preferences of these groups of people. This can lead places to start looking, and feeling, a little bit the same. It is possible to go to a March restaurant at the Prudential Center in Boston and have special ethnic foods from all over the world. But it is possible to go to a March in Montreal and do the same thing. At the same time, as cultural districts orient themselves to special niches of consumers, they often become divorced from the range of local culture in the city. For instance, many tourists consider a visit to Boston's Quincy Market a quintessential Boston experience, while local residents rarely go there.

The history of Rotterdam's revitalization illustrates these issues. In the 1980's, Rotterdam sought to revitalize its waterfront by drawing on the American model of waterfront cultural districts exemplified by the mixed-use districts in downtown Baltimore, Toronto and San Francisco. According to Maarten Hajer, this strategy was problematic in Rotterdam because the city already had a vital waterfront district. The mixed-use development and waterfront museum that was built displaced much of the existing culture. Hager suggested Rotterdam's "revitalization" was more a process of "moving out real activities only to replace them with artificial creations that form a parody on the dynamism of the river as it presently is."⁴⁴ His criticism of Rotterdam is equally applicable to many culture-based revitalization strategies in the United States: "The present strategy heavily relies on the possibility of engineering a new social life in clearly marked areas. But it runs the danger of turning against city

⁴³ Whitt, 1987, pp. 30.

life as it is: chaotic, ambivalent and unpredictable.”⁴⁵ For example, in New York City, tourists are funnelled to places like South Street Seaport, which is a mixed-use development/historical theme park that bears little resemblance to the rest of the city, which is an incredibly complex, diverse, exciting, but also very dirty and confusing, place. Ironically, cultural strategies can, and often do, undermine what makes the cultural identity of a place unique in the first place.

Besides the fact that culture-based revitalization strategies might not be effective in providing all the benefits they claim, they can also have some destructive impacts. Most importantly, culture-based revitalization strategies can contribute to the increasing polarization of society. The growth of arts facilities in downtowns do often make cities better places for “the more affluent, white collar worker” to live and visit.⁴⁶ But other people often are less able to enjoy the revitalization of downtowns, even in the cities where they live. Franco Bianchini and Massimo Torrigiani found the following pattern in Europe: “Cultural policies focusing almost exclusively on city centre-based developments, predominantly aimed at tourists and higher income groups, have in some cases further alienated from civic life residents of deprived outer estates and inner city areas, who often find the city centre’s cultural provision very difficult to access economically, psychologically and physically.”⁴⁷

Gentrification, which often accompanies the “revitalization” of certain areas, often compounds the problem of accessibility. Bianchini and Torrigiani found that

⁴⁴ Hajer, 1993, p. 64.

⁴⁵ Hajer, 1993, p. 49.

⁴⁶ Whitt, 1987, p. 30.

establishing cultural districts in European cities led to rising rents, displacement of long-term residents and the services catering to their needs, and rising costs of living. They also observed that the regeneration of cultural districts in urban areas often had few positive spillover effects to other areas of the city. In fact, cultural districts often had more stringent rules about loitering, sleeping in public, panhandling, and using public space in general. These rules often resulted in the exclusion of certain groups of people: lower-income, homeless, youth- many of whom had few other alternatives.⁴⁸

Bianchini and Torrigiani's findings point to one of the most serious criticisms of culture-based strategies as they are currently implemented, which is that they are exclusive and devalue some cultures and people at the same time that they elevate (and market) others. This is primarily caused by the fact that these strategies tend to define culture almost exclusively as an economic asset.

Many researchers have shown that cultural tastes and preferences are not distributed randomly throughout the population. Pierre Bordieu, among others, has shown how tastes and preferences correspond very closely to class backgrounds and gender roles.⁴⁹ For example, the symphony, opera, and other various "high culture" arts have traditionally been defined, supported and patronized by the upper classes as a way to reaffirm class solidarity.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Bianchini and Torrigiani, 1995, p. 37.

⁴⁸ Bianchini and Torrigiani, 1995, p. 32.

⁴⁹ Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, 1984.

The increasing commodification of culture has broken down some of the distinctions between high and low culture. But in other ways, the trend to value culture as an economic asset has reified cultural hierarchies. When cultures are valued by what they can contribute to the economic vitality of a place, the cultures of people that don't have high incomes, and thus don't create a lot of market demand, are devalued.

This process of devaluing some cultures is destructive, both because it results in a lack of support for the culture and cultural institutions of some parts of the community, and because it sends the message that the culture of some people is better than the culture of others. According to Adrian Piper, "Cultural racism is damaging and virulent because it hits its victims in particularly vulnerable and private places: their preferences, tastes, modes of self-expression, and self-image. When cultural racism succeeds in making its victims suppress, denigrate, or reject these means of cultural affirmation (the solace people find in entertainment, self-expression, intimacy, mutual support and cultural solidarity) it makes its victims hate themselves."⁵¹

Alternatives to the Traditional Model: Production-Oriented Strategies

If culture-based revitalization strategies as they have traditionally been implemented have so many drawbacks, are there any alternative models for these strategies?

⁵⁰ Whitt, 1987, p. 17.

⁵¹ Lippard, 1990, p. 7.

Several European researchers have suggested that the primary problem in these strategies has been their emphasis on consumption. According to Bianchini, “The relative failure of urban economic development strategies implemented in the 1980’s was that they were driven by their focus on consumption, service industries and property-led development. These strategies largely neglected the importance of a well-educated, well-trained, self-confident, innovative, creative, resourceful and self-reliant workforce in laying the foundations for economic success. Now the debate on economic futures is shifting perceptibly towards recognizing once again the importance of production and of the quality of ‘human capital.’”⁵²

An alternative, these researchers suggest, is for cities to focus on becoming centers for cultural production as opposed to cultural consumption. According to Bianchini, “City marketing in the future could be the celebration of local cultural production and of its applications to the development of a modern economy.”⁵³ Cities should seek to enhance local culture industries through integrated training and cultural strategies that will create local networks of firms in highly skilled, high value-added services and manufacturing.⁵⁴ Proponents of production strategies point to examples in Europe, such as Manchester, where cultural policy makers connected pop music, design and fashion industries to higher education with facilities devoted to arts and culture⁵⁵ and Bologna, Italy where they offered programs in computer graphics, film and video, radio electronics and electronic music at youth centers as a

⁵² Bianchini, 1995, p 93.

⁵³ Bianchini, 1993, p. 220.

⁵⁴ Bianchini, 1993, p. 200.

⁵⁵ Corijn and Mommaas, 1995, p. 25.

way to give young cultural producers a footing in the economic structure.⁵⁶ In the United States, the Manchester Craftsmen's Guild in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania pursues a similar strategy: they cultivate entrepreneurialism among youth in Pittsburgh's communities of color by involving them in music and visual arts programs.

While the production-oriented approach appears to offer a new, and potentially more inclusive, alternative to current culture-based revitalization strategies, it shares major weaknesses with approaches that have been implemented before. Although residents of places may gain ways to be producers, instead of just consumers, of culture, simply offering people new roles to play in the commodification of culture does not address the fact that the benefits of culture are still defined in economic terms.

A Non-Economic Model

In this thesis, I suggest that culture can play another role in communities, and particularly in communities that have faced disinvestment, unemployment, and discrimination. In contrast to playing a role defined by the market, culture has a place in building community: bringing people together and offering people opportunities to understand their history, make sense of their lives, and develop their own voices to express their vision of their community and their future. These aspects of how culture can contribute to revitalizing places have little to do with market values. But they do contribute to the level of community and the quality of life in a place, and to residents' sense of self and sense of well being. They also help

⁵⁶ Bloomfield, 1993, p. 108

build a people's ability to communicate with other people and to understand and care about them.

The importance of the arts for communities has been well known for years. At the turn of the century, settlement houses hosted cultural programs that included theater, singing, arts and crafts, painting, and other creative arts as a way to promote shared values. Labor unions have always held cultural events to educate their membership and enhance solidarity. Shared cultural values and forms of expression played a major role in organizing in both the Civil Rights Movement and the Women's Movement.

The rich literature that has investigated these and other examples of the role of culture in building community based institutions and organizations is an important resource for communities and policy makers considering culture-based revitalization and seeking to avoid the contradictions of the traditional approaches discussed in the previous section. In the next section, I will draw from the efforts and insights of three groups: artists, cultural workers, and people associated with museums, to suggest ways that the arts and arts institutions can contribute to the revitalization of communities.

Perhaps most importantly, art can be a means to developing self-understanding. Stereotypes of the self-absorbed artist creating art may seem antithetical to being part of a community. But cultural workers and artists like Lucy Lippard, Jane Sapp and

⁵⁷ Kelly, 2000, p. 12.

Roberto Arevalo believe that self-understanding is both essential to the development of individual identity and the basis for understanding others and developing relationships. Robert Arevalo is videomaker and founder of the Mirror Project, an educational media project in Boston that teaches inner-city teenagers to create videos about their everyday experiences. He explains his approach: “We are allowing the teenagers to develop a process of self-discovery that is not based on some imposed topic or trying to please someone else. We ask, “What is happening around you and within you?” Answering these questions for yourself is part of a process of valuing and respecting people for who they are.”⁵⁹ Lucy Lippard, author of *Mixed Blessings: New Art in a Multicultural America*, an anthology of the work of artists of color, also suggests that the exploration of self through art is the foundation for community. She writes, “One’s own lived experience, respectfully related to that of others, remains for me the best foundation for social vision, of which art is a significant part.”⁶⁰

One reason why self-understanding is important for communities is because it is a source of social change. According to Alicia Gonzalez, “True power can only come from a sense of identity, a sense of knowing, a sense of being grounded in a group.”⁶¹ Jane Sapp, a life-long performer, composer and activist who founded the Center for Culture and Community in Springfield, MA ten years ago, describes her work in similar terms, “I want music to transform the way people think about

⁵⁸ Klein, 2000, p. 9.

⁵⁹ Personal Interview. November, 1999.

⁶⁰ Lippard, 1990, p. 7.

⁶¹ Gonzalez, 1992, p. 283.

themselves. When people are strengthened, when people feel they can make change, that's when change will happen. My work with music is about that strengthening."⁶²

In the process of developing self-understanding and a sense of identity, people develop a sense of community, and vice versa. According to Ivan Karp, "In order for communities to exist in time and space, they must be imagined and represented by individuals as significant components of their identities."⁶³

In contrast to culture-based revitalization efforts that attempt to use the arts as a way to give places a marketable appearance, community-based art can challenge the images a community has of itself in fundamental ways. Because people and communities are complex, the process of building community is usually not without conflict. Lucy Lippard writes, "Cross cultural, cross class, cross gender relations are strained to say the least, in a country that sometimes recognizes its overt racism and sexism, but cannot confront the underlying xenophobia, fear of the other—that causes them."⁶⁴ Many artists and cultural workers believe that making and enjoying art is an opportunity to explore these complexities. Karp explains, "It is the task of the artist to bring out the hybrid and dynamic nature of fractured realities."⁶⁵ The emergence of dialogue within communities that comes with expressing and negotiating differences is the foundation of democratic society and real community revitalization.

⁶² Stover, 2000, p. 24.

⁶³ Karp, 1992, p. 30.

⁶⁴ Lippard, 1990, p. 6.

If art is important for communities in all the ways discussed above, how can community-based art be fostered? Community-based arts organizations can play a crucial role. By developing programs in video production, music, visual arts, theater, etc., arts organizations create the conditions for people to be artistic. Jane Sapp describes how she works with young people: “So many people tell these kids their communities lack resources. There is always this sense of deficit.” Telling them the story of Rosa Parks, she reminds them, “In a time when it seemed like there could be no change, it changed.” She remembers, “I ask them, ‘What do you have? What can you do? What is it that belongs to you?’”⁶⁶

Community-based arts organization can also create public spaces where art is shared and enjoyed. According to the literature, the arts organizations that effectively create these spaces in communities have several characteristics. First, they are inclusive. For museums as well as other arts organizations, creating arts spaces that reflect and include the different cultures within a community makes them accessible and meaningful for more people. Edmund Gaither explains, “When museums in the United States tell a more accurate and integrated story, more Americans from all cultural groups will feel ownership in them, and they will say, ‘Hey, that’s mine!’”⁶⁷

The literature also reveals that community-based arts organizations are more effective when they encourage dialogue. It is not enough for an arts organization to simply include a wide variety of cultures. Effective ones develop their programming

⁶⁵ Karp, 1992, p. 25.

⁶⁶ Stover, 2000, p. 24.

⁶⁷ Gaither, 1992, p. 64.

in collaboration with the community. For example, John Kuo Wei Phen describes the development of the Chinatown History Museum into a “dialogic museum”: “For us, creating a dialogue-driven museum has meant engaging with our audiences in mutually exploring the memory and meaning of Chinatown’s past. It has meant learning how people learn in different ways and helping to facilitate that process. And it has meant taking what we learn from these dialogues and further improving the planning and development of the organization.”⁶⁸

At the same time that effective community arts organizations engage in dialogue with the community as a way to develop their cultural programs, they also seek to encourage dialogue within the community: dialogue between different people and groups within the community; dialogue about issues faced by the community; dialogue about future visions for the community, etc. In other words, the most successful community-based arts organizations “create places where people come together who don’t normally come together and collectively explore issues by talking face to face with one another.”⁶⁹

What is the connection between community-based arts organizations and traditional culture-based revitalization strategies? In this thesis, I suggest that many of the destructive impacts of the traditional strategies can be addressed through the community-oriented work of community-based arts organizations. By developing arts activities that encourage self-understanding and emphasize self-expression for

⁶⁸ Wei Tchen, 1992, p. 289.

⁶⁹ Wei Tchen, 1992, p. 320.

members of the community, community-based arts organizations can minimize the impact of the tendency of many traditional strategies to devalue cultures that don't have market appeal. By creating programs that promote opportunities for dialogue and constructive conflict within the community, community-based arts organizations work against the polarization that is often produced by traditional strategies. And by creating opportunities for people to both make and enjoy community-oriented art, community-based arts organizations break down the distinctions within traditional strategies between production-based and consumption-based approaches. Community-based arts organizations cannot address all of the destructive impacts of traditional strategies, however. For instance, most community-based arts organizations do not have the technical expertise or financial means to address the issues of gentrification and affordable housing that often accompany traditional strategies.

In this thesis, I do not propose that community-oriented activities should be included in culture-based revitalization strategies simply to mitigate their most destructive impacts. Instead, I suggest that the goals of culture-based revitalization should be redefined to include not just economic development, but also an enhanced sense of community; a stronger sense of voice among community members; a greater level of public space; an increased level of dialogue among different parts of the community; a greater creativity by residents; a greater appreciation for local culture; an increased respect for difference; and a greater enjoyment of art in general by all members of the community. In this, I agree with activist and fundraiser Kim Klein, who acknowledges that participation in the arts may contribute to communities in

many instrumental ways, but that “Art is central to any kind of decent society.”⁷¹ In other words, instead of serving as a means to an end, cultural activities in communities can serve as a process that is an end in itself.

⁷¹ Klein, 2000, p. 9.

Chapter III: History of Hudson, New York

In the previous section, I examined some of the contradictions of the traditional model of culture-based revitalization and suggested an alternative model not based on economic values. In this section, I introduce an example of a place that illustrates these theoretical ideas: Hudson, New York. I first describe the history of Hudson to explain the context of the community. Then I discuss the process of market-oriented revitalization through the arts that is taking place in Hudson, including some of the contradictions it has produced.

Setting and Early History

Hudson is a small city of 8,000 residents located in Columbia County in New York State. It is a dense urban area made up of two and a half square miles of land on the banks of the Hudson River a half an hour's drive from the Catskill Mountains. Just over 120 miles north of New York City, Hudson is on the Amtrak rail line connecting New York City and Albany.

Hudson today can best be understood in the context of its history. Central to this history is Hudson's early prosperity. Hudson was founded in the late 1700's by a group of Quakers from Nantucket, Providence and Newport who were looking to relocate near a safer harbor after suffering the instability of the Revolutionary War. This group of 30 "proprietors" sought to establish "a commercial settlement based on principles of equity"⁷²

⁷² City of Hudson 1785-1935 Sesquicentennial pamphlet.

These early residents focused on shipping, and Hudson grew up around the river⁷³. The waterfront was filled with warehouses, docks, and shipyards. After Hudson became a Port of Entry⁷⁴ in 1790, local businesses became increasingly involved in international, as well as regional, trade.

Hudson's early industrial development grew out of these trading activities. Hudson entrepreneurs developed tanneries to capitalize on the fact that many animals were slaughtered and packed for shipping in town. Others took advantage of Hudson's whaling activities to build oil and candle works. Several companies expanded from making canvas for ships to weaving woolen cloth. Early entrepreneurs also capitalized on natural resources, mining large natural deposits of shale and clay to make cement.

When the railroad became an important mode of transport in the late 1800's, Hudson entrepreneurs capitalized on the city's location at the hub of an excellent transportation network. The Hudson harbor served as a link between the steamers that came from every port in world and railroads running north and east and west.

Architecturally, today's Hudson's still reflects its vitality as an early commercial center. Mansions built from 1790–1920 still line many streets and old Warren Street storefronts continue to house first-floor shops and second- and third-floor

⁷³ Schram, 1988.

⁷⁴ Designation as a Port of Entry meant that Hudson could function as a first point of landing for international trade.

apartment units. Most of the industrial development took place along the waterfront. Some of these commercial buildings also remain, although many are vacant. The industrial enterprises needed labor, and Hudson's population grew from 6,286 in 1840 to 9,895 in 1890 and 11,725 in 1920. Entrepreneurs built multi-family housing for the growing working class, much of which provides affordable rental units for Hudson residents today.

The first important element of Hudson's history, then, is that as a result of its early period of prosperity and growth, Hudson is a very old and beautiful city. The 2-½ square miles that make up the city of Hudson were almost completely built out by 1920.

Deindustrialization

The second important element of Hudson's history is that the city's industrial heyday was over by the early 20th century. The deindustrialization that followed has had several important consequences for Hudson's physical and economic development.

Hudson never recovered economically from the Depression. As a shipping and manufacturing center, Hudson was dependent on other parts of the country for markets and trade. When nationwide markets collapsed in the 1930's, Hudson went into a major decline. The national shift away from rail transportation towards the national highway system hindered Hudson's renewal in the 1940's and 50's. Because little land was available within Hudson for industrial development, modern

enterprises located elsewhere. Hudson's industries gradually became obsolete, and many went out of business in the 1940's and 50's.

This process of deindustrialization continued into the 1960's, leaving abandoned factory shells scattered throughout the town. Many of the houses in Hudson built before 1900 began to deteriorate from age and lack of investment. Hudson's population fell as the working class followed jobs elsewhere. Many middle-class and wealthy people left for the suburbs. From almost 12,000 in 1920, Hudson's population fell to around 8,000 in 1960, where it remains today. New shops bypassed Hudson for locations in suburban malls. The main street commercial district fell into decline, and many storefronts were left empty.

These events led Hudson's government to seek federal assistance in the mid-1960's through the federal Urban Renewal program. Consistent with the Urban Renewal Program's emphasis on removing "blight", Hudson designated fifty acres in the oldest part of town for Urban Renewal. The entire fifty acres, with the exception of a section of Warren Street described below, was razed. The land was disposed to private entities for the construction of modern public and low- and moderate-income housing. A neighborhood retail shopping center was built on lower Warren Street, the old commercial backbone of the city, and another area was set aside for industrial development.

In the late 1960's, changes in federal priorities shifted the direction of Hudson's development. Old buildings targeted for demolition under Urban Renewal were

redefined as “historic” and targeted for renovation. In response to public pressure, and following the listing of a portion of the Urban Renewal District on the National Register of Historic Places in 1970, the Hudson Urban Renewal Authority developed an innovative preservation program for the commercial buildings within the Historic District. The Hudson Urban Renewal Authority contributed over \$250,000 to renovate the facades of the buildings and made low-interest loans to owners to renovate the interiors.

Throughout the 1980’s and 90’s, Hudson has continued to receive significant federal funds for a variety of changing programs targeted at poverty alleviation, including Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC)⁷⁵, Section 108 housing vouchers, food stamps, welfare to work training programs, and block grant funding for substance-abuse programs, domestic violence programs, family planning programs, and other social welfare initiatives.

Although federal priorities and federal programs have shifted over time, federal involvement has been important to Hudson’s development. In the first place, the fabric of the city was changed forever after hundreds of old buildings were torn down and replaced with new construction built in modern architectural styles. The federal emphasis on preservation that began in the 1970’s did, however, spark renewed interest in Hudson’s historic buildings. In the last twenty-five years, private investors have taken over the process of rehabilitation. The renovation of old

⁷⁵ The AFDC program was replaced by the Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF) program by the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1997.

buildings in Hudson has provided the foundation for the city's current revitalization as a center for tourism and the arts, which is discussed further below.

Perhaps the most important legacy of federal involvement in Hudson is that many of the institutions of large-scale planning remain: Hudson, with a population of only 8,000, has an Industrial Development Agency, a Housing Services Corporation, a Development Corporation, and a host of social service agencies funded with federal dollars. These institutions are major employers; over 10% of the population of Hudson works in "public administration."⁷⁶ They administer a wide range of federal programs for Hudson's elderly and low-income residents that are still in place in Hudson. Because of the high level of federal dollars they bring to the city, they also play a major role in the political structure of the city.

Deindustrialization also brought low-wage jobs. Although Hudson's unemployment has remained low since the early 1990's, most of Hudson's workers are employed in service sector jobs. The lack of economic opportunity translates into low household incomes: in 1990, 58.2% of Hudson residents lived in households with incomes below 80% of the median county income.⁷⁷ Household incomes in Hudson are low in absolute as well as relative terms; 54% of households had income less than \$20,000 in 1990. In addition, 23% of the population, and 35% of all the children below 18 lived in poverty, including 23% of white children and 40% of black

⁷⁶ All demographic, housing, and economic information referenced in this section is taken from the 1990 US Census.

⁷⁷ Incomes in Hudson are low relative to the county partly because the towns surrounding Hudson are primarily rural, wealthy areas with a lot of second-home owners from New York..

children. Many families rely on the federal government for income; 17% of households received public assistance in 1990.⁷⁸

Although most of the jobs available to unskilled workers in Hudson offer low wages, most Hudson residents lack the educational background to find higher paying jobs in economic sectors that demand more skills. In 1990, 43% of Hudson residents had less than a high school education. 18% had not completed more than 8th grade. Only 8% had completed a 4-year college or more, while an additional 6% had completed an associate's degree.

Although Hudson is a working-class community heavily impacted by the shift in the economy into service sector and low-wage manufacturing jobs, the area around Hudson, including Greenport, the wealthy community that surrounds the city, has been impacted by economic and demographic changes in other ways. Increasingly, wealthy people from New York City have bought second homes in Greenport and other rural and suburban towns in Columbia County and the rest of the Hudson River Valley. The presence of these wealthy communities, coupled with Hudson's easy accessibility by public transportation to New York City drug markets, has led to the growth of a thriving drug trade in Hudson.⁷⁹

Despite the lack of jobs and the drug dealing, Hudson remains a nice place to live. It is a compact city, and it is possible to walk to parks, to services, and, for many

⁷⁸ Changes to programs such as AFDC in the 1990's have recently reduced the number of people receiving "welfare" checks.

people, to work.⁸⁰ The town looks out on the Hudson River and the Catskill Mountains. People gather in Hudson's parks on Sunday afternoons. More than any other community in Columbia County, which has a population that is 95% white, Hudson is accessible to people of color; in 1990, 25% of Hudson's population was African-Americans, Latinos and other people of color. Many elderly people also live in Hudson; 38% of households received Social Security in 1990. In contrast to the skyrocketing cost of housing in surrounding communities, housing in Hudson has always been affordable, even for people with low incomes. 60% of all housing in 1990 was rental units, and 65 % of the population lived in rented housing. The average monthly rent for a studio apartment in 1990 was about \$325, a one bedroom apartment: \$300; a two- bedroom: \$400; and a three or more bedroom: \$500.

Revitalization through the Arts

In the 1980's, a growing number of outsiders, mainly white and middle class, began to recognize the attractive parts of Hudson. Close to the Catskill Mountains and accessible to New York City by train, Hudson seemed like a great escape from New York without being too isolated. People accustomed to living in the city were also attracted by the large apartments with cheap rent and views of the mountains and the river.

For these and other reasons, many newcomers have moved to Hudson in the last twenty years. Unlike the wealthy people from New York City who buy second

⁷⁹ Police detective Paul Kisselbrack of the Hudson Police department reports that a bag of cocaine sold in Hudson sells for three times the price in New York City.

⁸⁰ According to the 1990 census, 21% of the workers in Hudson walked to work in 1990.

homes in the surrounding rural communities, the people who move to Hudson are often fixer-uppers from New York's art scene and gay community. Many support themselves by opening small shops and creating artist studios and galleries.

Hudson's newcomers have led a revitalization of Hudson, a revitalization based primarily on tourism and the arts. Over sixty antique dealers have bought and renovated buildings on and adjacent to upper Warren Street, and artists have established numerous studios and over fifteen full-time galleries in the same district.

But the artsy culture imported by the newcomers stands in stark contrast to the local culture. The high-end shops are creative and original, but they cater mostly to second-home owners in the rural counties surrounding Hudson and to tourists from New York. Their prices are beyond the reach of most long-term residents.

Artists and other newcomers have also initiated a lot of cultural activities in Hudson, such as the annual ArtsWalk, a weekend of open studios and special arts-oriented activities, and the galleries and artists studios offer a wide variety of alternative and experimental art. The culture of many residents, however, isn't connected to this kind of independent art. Most local residents are connected to popular culture – mainstream music, movies, videos, and fast food. They don't have a lot of experience making art or being producers of culture.

The differences between people in Hudson have created divisions in the community. Because Hudson is such a small town, the divisions stand out. The newcomers and

the locals, the artists and the working class, the rich and the poor, African-Americans and whites, and the elderly and the youth coexist but rarely communicate.

Importantly, the spatial division between the different parts of the community mirrors the lines demarcated in Urban Renewal. Ex-New Yorkers are only renovating the older stock, and so they are only moving to the houses that are outside the fifty acres that were once leveled through Urban Renewal. The renovation activity is driving up the cost of housing, making certain areas less accessible to low- and moderate-income people. In some parts of town, particularly areas near the Hudson River and the subsidized housing, three bedroom houses sell for \$29,000 and six unit apartment buildings for \$70,000. But many of the commercial buildings on Warren Street where the antique stores and galleries are concentrated now sell for \$200,000-\$350,000. Although the buildings built through Urban Renewal continue to be a source of affordable rental units, rents in other parts of Hudson are rising.⁸¹

Sometimes the differences between newcomers and long-term residents erupt into conflict. For example, in 1985 a group of preservationists attempted to have the entire town of Hudson, with the exception of the area rebuilt through Urban Renewal, listed on both the New York State Register of Historic Places and the National Register of Historic Places. The initiative was strenuously opposed by many of the institutions that administer federal programs in Hudson, including the Industrial Development Agency, the Hudson Development Corporation and the

⁸¹ "Hudson Working Way Out of Valley," December 8, 1987.

Hudson Housing Services Corporation. The Executive Director of Hudson's Industrial Development Agency objected on the grounds that the 25% tax credits that would become available for rehabilitation of structures in the Historic District would put additional pressure on the housing market, adversely affecting the many renters in Hudson, particularly because at that time more than 50% of households had incomes of less than \$10,000.⁸² The Director of the Hudson Development Corporation expressed a similar position: "Our poor and elderly people... have no need for investment tax credits; they have a hard enough time making mortgage or rent payments, utility payments and putting food on their tables."⁸³ The Director of the Hudson Housing Services Corporation explained the conflict more graphically: "I am more outraged by the entire process that has been employed by your agency to designate more than 600 structures and virtually all of the multi-family housing as candidates for gentrification."⁸⁴

Conflicts over the direction of Hudson's development continue. For example, the Hudson Opera House is an arts organization that is renovating Hudson's old Opera House and has been an outspoken advocate for arts-based tourist-oriented development. In 1996, the Hudson Opera House organization worked with a planning firm to develop a "Hudson Vision Plan." The centerpiece of the plan was a mixed-use waterfront development on the banks of the Hudson River. Although the

⁸² Letter from William Loewentein, Executive Director, Hudson Industrial Development Agency, to Orin Lehman, Commissioner of New York State Department of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation. May 29, 1985.

⁸³ Letter from Lynda Davidson, President, Hudson Development Corporation, to Orin Lehman, Commissioner, New York State Department of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation, July 9, 1985.

plan had some support from other tourist-oriented businesses like antique dealers and art galleries, it lacked popular support from Hudson residents and was opposed outright by many of the planning institutions.⁸⁵

Hudson's future is unclear. The entrenched bureaucracy wants things to keep things as they are. The cultural elite wants to remake Hudson in the image of New York City. The elderly and low-income people are increasingly being displaced by rising rents. The youth in the community are isolated and lack educational credentials to compete in changing circumstances. The trend towards gentrification that is affecting the older, more historic parts of Hudson will probably continue, and the population of ex-New Yorkers will grow. They will continue to renovate the old buildings of Hudson. At the same time, the housing built through Urban Renewal is a set of buildings controlled by governmental regulation, and so it will remain affordable for the indefinite future. As a result, probably both the long term residents and newcomers will continue to live in the City of Hudson. However, it remains to be seen if the benefits of Hudson's physical rehabilitation and commercial success can be shared between them. One possible future for Hudson is that it will become a cultural satellite of New York City. Hudson will follow the path of many other gentrifying communities and be polarized along racial, economic, class and cultural lines.

⁸⁴ Letter from Alan Ferri, Executive Director, Hudson Housing Services Corporation, to Orin Lehman, Commissioner, New York State Department of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation. May 29, 1985.

⁸⁵ Cavendish Partnership, 1996.

Chapter IV: Time & Space Limited

It is in this context that Time & Space Limited (TSL) has created a multi-arts center. In this chapter, I provide a brief history of TSL and describe TSL's development into a community-based arts organization. Then I discuss TSL's contributions to community development through the arts in three primary areas: building community, creating public space, and bringing art. Through this discussion, I demonstrate how this alternative model of culture-based redevelopment can both address many of the contradictions produced in the context of tourist-oriented, market-based revitalization through the arts and contribute to the revitalization of the community in many other, non-economic ways.

History of Time and Space Limited

TSL was founded by Linda Mussmann over twenty years ago as a theater company in New York City. She was joined several years later by Claudia Bruce, and together they produced many acclaimed avant-garde theater and multimedia productions in New York City and in Europe.

Over the years, Mussmann and Bruce became increasingly concerned about the growing insularity of the arts scene in New York City, which they felt was becoming less and less connected to the wider "public." At the same time, conservative critics were increasing their attacks on government agencies involved in supporting controversial artists. By the late 1980's, the rising tension about artistic freedom

made Mussmann and Bruce nervous. Following the furor surrounding Mapplethorpe and Andres Serrano, Mussmann and Bruce returned a \$10,000 grant to the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) in 1991 to protest the increasing role of censorship in the arts.⁸⁶

But Mussmann and Bruce were discouraged that “so few companies would stand up to the NEA.” Mussmann explained, “It was clear from the general reaction around the country that there was something wrong with how art was gotten out and how it was discussed. Most of the country had no connection to art, and New York felt more and more like a closed system. And the handwriting was on the wall. The climate in the 90’s was going to be all about hype and sensationalism.”⁸⁷

Becoming a Community-Based Arts Organization

Mussmann and Bruce decided to move TSL to Hudson. It was a risky move for “a postmodern theater group with decidedly feminist leanings.”⁸⁸ But TSL was committed to the change. According to Mussmann, “Everybody said we couldn’t exist outside of New York City. Well, if that’s true, there’s something wrong with our work.”⁸⁹

In 1991, with the help of some generous donations from supporters, TSL bought the old Grossman’s bakery, an abandoned industrial building in Hudson built in 1929.

⁸⁶ Beginning primarily in 1989, many Republicans and other Right-wing activists have objected to NEA support for artists that create what they see as objectionable art.

⁸⁷ “Downtown Upstream,” 1994.

⁸⁸ “Downtown Upstream,” 1994.

⁸⁹ “Downtown Upstream,” 1994.

Mussmann and Bruce renamed the building the “TSL WareHouse” and quickly began a massive renovation, transforming the space into a seventy-five-seat theater and a multi-purpose area that serves alternatively as a gallery, set-building, rehearsal and reception space.

Mussmann and Bruce’s plan for TSL evolved along the way. According to Bruce, “When we came here, it was basically so we could do our own work.”⁹⁰ But they found being artists without being part of a community problematic. According to Mussmann, “We didn’t want to produce work in one community for selling to a market somewhere else.”⁹¹ Bruce elaborated, “We couldn’t have done it that way. We’re just not that kind of people. Linda’s from a rural community; I’m from a small town in Georgia. That is our background. You know your neighbors. You get involved.”⁹²

In the last eight years, Mussmann and Bruce have transformed the TSL WareHouse from a place to stage their own productions into a multi-arts center for their community. This transformation grew largely out of their relationship with people in Hudson. One of the earliest fans of TSL was a young boy from the neighborhood, Matthew Thompson. According to Bruce, “Matthew adopted us.” Out of their ongoing conversations with Matthew, Mussmann developed an idea for a production, *My Dinner with Matthew*, modeled on the popular film, *My Dinner with Andre*.

⁹⁰ Mehalick, 1997.

⁹¹ “Downtown Upstream,” 1994.

⁹² “Claudia Bruce and Linda Mussmann,” 1998.

In *My Dinner with Matthew*, Bruce served Mussmann and Thompson a three course dinner on stage. The focus of the production was their conversation, a non-scripted discussion covering a wide range of topics. “He talked about going to school and how few minority teachers there were and the stabbings and gangs,” Mussmann remembers. Matthew was enthusiastic about the production. He remembered, “It was a great, great experience for me.”⁹³

Producing *My Dinner with Matthew* marked TSL’s entrance into the Hudson community. Although Mussmann and Bruce had been fixing up the TSL WareHouse for a couple of years, they were still outsiders. They were artists from New York City, they were white, and they were financially better off than a lot of their neighbors. Despite their commitment to being involved, Bruce and Mussmann didn’t know very much about their new town, and they didn’t know very many people.

Through working with Matthew and producing *My Dinner with Matthew* Mussmann and Bruce started to learn about their neighbors and about their town. Mussmann explains, “We didn’t know anybody. We didn’t have any kids. Matthew caused us to think about kids more. We learned about his school.” At the same time that working with Matthew gave Bruce and Mussmann the chance to learn about Hudson, it also brought them credibility in the community. Mussmann explained, “People saw a

⁹³ Barnes, 1997.

boy, African-American, and from Hudson, who liked us. It diminished that suspicion.”

Many people from Hudson who had never been to TSL before came to *My Dinner with Matthew*. According to Mussmann, “People got interested that this kid was in our place with us. People read about it in the paper. Matthew’s neighbors and family and teachers came. Mathew’s uncle is on the police force.” She added, “To create a dialogue between Matthew and me was to go against everyone’s expectations.”⁹⁴

Through producing this play with Matthew, Bruce and Mussmann began to establish themselves in their community. More kids started hanging around the TSL WareHouse. They were interested in all the different projects going on. Mussmann and Bruce were good neighbors, and they made themselves available. A local newspaper described the scene, “Sometimes the kids drop by simply to munch on peanut-butter-and-jelly sandwiches or wander around looking at the art installations: the big bizarre tree made of rubber bands, or the arrangement of heavy pieces of wood, or the hanging bicycle wheels.”⁹⁵

Over time, Mussmann and Bruce have become more and more involved with their community. They have undertaken new ways to make their art space serve their community’s needs. According to Mussmann, “It’s about how we see art, how to use art to engage the place you live in and have a relationship with the community.

⁹⁴ “Downtown Upstream,” 1994.

It's about creating a multi-arts center for the appreciation and exchange of the arts between a lot of different communities. It is about using art to become a part of a place you call home.”⁹⁶

Through extensive arts programs, including theater, cinema, music, painting, sculpture and video and audio productions, TSL has created a place where art and people can have an influence on each other. They seek to bring their neighborhood closer together by breaking down the divisions between the newcomers and the locals, the artists and the working class, and the cultured and the uncultured. “It’s a way of thinking, a view of the world, a dedication to using art in its many forms to promote understanding of those things that divide people and those better things that bring us together,” explains Mussmann.⁹⁷ Operationally, this means creating programs and events that bring people together. It also means bringing ideas together in interesting, provocative, and sometimes jarring ways. It means encouraging a dialogue between people and ideas and giving people a chance to develop and express their voice.

Building Community

One of the most important things that TSL does is break down the barriers that separate people in Hudson and build connections among different members of the community. Because Hudson is such a segregated town, and because arts organizations play a major role in creating a cultural elite, creating an inclusive arts

⁹⁵ Barnes, 1997.

⁹⁶ Barnes, 1997.

space and providing opportunities for people to enjoy and create art are crucial to the process of building community.

Mussmann and Bruce are aware of the alienation between the long-term community and the artsy newcomers, and they seek to challenge the negative stereotypes. “As much as we’re trying to use art as a way of examining things in the world around us, we’re also interested in doing what we can to change the way people think about art by tearing down the elitist wall that surrounds it,” Bruce explains.⁹⁸

Holding Community Events

Their approach is simple: they hold events that will appeal to a lot of different people and work hard to make people feel invited. As Mussmann says, “It is part of an effort to get people in a room together, who never would be in that room together.” For example, TSL hosts several annual dinners at the TSL WareHouse. Mussmann describes one of these annual events, a potluck held on Lincoln’s birthday, “I got my neighbor Hazel to do the chicken. She felt welcome. She could come in with her tray. There was no fear. We had to figure out a way to get Hazel in here – and it ended up being through fried chicken. She brought half her family. After dinner, we showed the movie *Casablanca*. The idea was to bring something and share it. Everyone brought food. We showed *Casablanca*. That is what we shared.”

The idea that everyone has something to share runs through all of TSL’s programs. It is representative of their respectful approach to building community. “We are not

⁹⁷ Barnes, 1997.

missionaries,” says Mussmann. “We are artists who work, who have a special craft and are willing to share.”

Summer Youth Programs

At TSL, this means that Mussmann and Bruce share the people, ideas and images that they know with the community. For example, after working with Matthew Thompson on *My Dinner with Matthew* and getting to know many neighborhood kids, TSL started annual summer youth programs at the TSL WareHouse. These programs are both a way for Mussmann and Bruce to share what they know with the neighborhood kids and a way for the kids to share who they are with the rest of the community.

The first year, in 1996, Mussmann invited a Japanese set designer she knew from New York City, Jun Maeda, to work with neighborhood youth on a project in the empty lot next to the TSL WareHouse. Mr. Maeda had recently finished building a huge screen out of 900 used cans to be the backdrop for an alternative play in New York City. The giant construction had traveled to London and Paris with the production.⁹⁹

TSL brought Maeda to Hudson to teach area youth weaving and sculpture skills. A local paper described the project,

“Mr. Maeda taught youngsters aged 5-16 how to weave using aluminum cans and plastic bottles under a specially designed

⁹⁸ Mehalick, 1997.

⁹⁹ Seeley, 1996.

Mongolian tent in TSL's parking lot. To shield it from the sun, he draped tobacco cloth and a sheet over the round structure.

Working in a circle, the youths and some of their parents sat on straw mats as Mr. Maeda taught a basic weaving pattern using strips of paper and masking tape. The master weaver did not stand before the youths and lecture, exposing them to a different method of teaching.

Sporting black shoes with orange rubber soles and a long, wispy gray beard, Mr. Maeda speaks little English, so patience and concentration were crucial to the learning process. "He had little kids ages 6 and 7 sitting quietly," Mussmann says. The paper pattern was then used as a guide for larger weaving tasks. "Weaving improves meditation and concentration," he says. In part because of the language barrier, Mr. Maeda demonstrated the weaving technique and expected his pupils to follow his lead.¹⁰⁰

After the project was completed and the tent was disassembled, TSL put the finished woven plastic and aluminum pieces, along with photographs of the class, in the gallery space in the TSL WareHouse. According to Mussmann, "This is a way a cultural space can relate directly to the community."¹⁰¹

The project changed TSL's image in Hudson. Mussmann explained, "It was the most visible thing we had done. It was a big thing. It took two months." The next summer, TSL expanded the youth project, including mask making and mural making components. Again, TSL organized the youth project outdoors. According to Mussmann, "It was a way of speaking to the community. We were showing, 'These kids have something. Something positive.' And the outdoor project was a way of making it visible."

¹⁰⁰ Seeley, 1996.

¹⁰¹ Seeley, 1996.

Arts Projects at the Boys' and Girls' Club

Mussmann and Bruce's interest in supporting the positive side of what kids had to offer the community motivated them to expand the kids' projects. In 1996 they started running arts projects at the Boys' and Girls' Club two afternoons a week. Through these arts projects, Mussmann and Bruce have involved a lot of other members of the artists' community, as well as other people involved with TSL, in working with Hudson's young people.

TSL does not follow any kind of formula or even a set program at the Boys' and Girls' Club. "Our goal is to create a system that is flexible and open," explains Mussmann. Any of the kids who are there and are interested can join in. Usually about twelve or fifteen kids, but sometimes up to thirty, get involved. They are primarily between eight and thirteen years old.

Mussmann and Bruce don't believe that they have all the answers. According to Mussmann, "You can assume a lot of things and not be right about any of them. Our approach is more like testing ideas. We are trying to understand how the kids relate to things. I have to teach what I know, but racially, economically, we are different." Instead of imposing their own ideas, Mussmann and Bruce help the kids understand and express their own knowledge, experience and creativity.

At the Boys' and Girls' Club, Mussmann and Bruce have built off the summer programs at the TSL WareHouse that have involved weaving, painting, and building.

“We created a situation where there were other people, older people, constructing things at the Boys’ and Girls’ Club. Eventually the kids would get interested in working with us. They would imitate. I think you learn by watching. The first time, you repeat, the second time you repeat better, and the third time, you do something more original,” Mussmann explained.

The project has evolved over time. Mussmann grew up on a farm, and she brings that experience to the arts projects with the kids. “If it was raining, you did one thing, if it was sunny, you did something else,” she remembers. She keeps the arts projects flexible in order to be able to respond to the kids’ needs. “One thing comes after another,” Mussmann explains. “It is an intuitive process. When we started, we all drew the same house. Then I thought we’d build houses. We all did cardboard cutouts. Then we painted them. Then we had houses. Then we constructed a landscape; we made fences. Then we did wood houses. At that point, the abstraction became more three-dimensional and gave a sense of space. The goal is to get into playhouses, and then into real-size houses, when I have materials. The idea is to build a world. We want them to construct something real, at a scale they can see, and explore how it works.”

TSL’s kids’ projects at the Boys’ and Girls’ Club reflect what Mussmann and Bruce learned from their early project with Matthew Thompson: everyone in Hudson is connected, and everyone can learn from everyone else. In Hudson, the arts community tends to be isolated from the long-term residents. But in the course of setting up a program for kids in Hudson to make art, Mussmann and Bruce

discovered that working with the kids influenced their own art. According to Mussmann, “The kids’ projects have turned out to be a kind of dialogue. When we were working on the construction projects with the kids, I started using the lathe in my own work. I got into taking a piece of wood that was whole, taking it apart and putting it back together.”

At the same time, TSL’s focus on the kids in the community helps bring more community resources to the kids. Mussmann and Bruce involve other artists, participants in their neighborhood watch, and members of TSL in the arts projects at the Boys’ and Girls’ Club. According to Mussmann, “The kids’ projects are a way for people to relate to each other. You can’t just go up to a kid and say ‘Hi, I want to be nice to you.’ The kids’ projects link these disparate groups.”

The kids’ projects also undermine the barriers that divide people in Hudson by “breaking the line of who belongs where.” Many of the artists and other volunteers TSL involves in the arts projects are white, challenging the stereotype that “white people don’t go to the Boys’ and Girls’ Club.” At the same time, Mussmann and Bruce bring the kids places in Hudson they don’t usually go. According to Mussmann, “The antique community has been guilty of elitism. We take kids into antique stores. I have taken some kids for lunch at the Rotary Club. They have never been there. Sometimes we’ll go to things at school with them. Sometimes I’ll go get them and give them rides to the swimming hole.”

The kids' projects work against the patterns of social and cultural segregation in Hudson that can make it seem like the kids are in one city, the artists in another, and the businesses in another. "There is an issue of walling up the poor part of town," says Mussmann. "We focus on the kids. We bring them into view. I talk about the kids. We put the kids' projects in our TSL brochure. We suggest if we are going to succeed here we are all going to succeed together."

Creating Public Space

A second important role of TSL, in addition to building community, is creating public space. Creating public space is important in Hudson because there are few places in Hudson where residents come together on equal footing. For instance, some people feel they don't belong in the antique shops, while some people feel they don't belong in the area with subsidized housing. Creating public *art* space is particularly important in Hudson because most of the arts spaces in Hudson are so inaccessible to so many people in the community. At the same time, the fact that the wider community is missing from art spaces isolates the people who do feel comfortable going to them from the people who don't.

Gallery Space: Bringing Together Artists and Other Members of the Community

Mussmann and Bruce have made the TSL WareHouse a public arts space which people from different parts of the community come to and feel is their own. In one-half of the TSL WareHouse, TSL has built a giant gallery space. In that space, TSL shows art, brings people together, challenges distinctions about who is cultured and

uncultured and what is and is not art, and enhances self-expression, dialogue, and understanding within the community.

TSL often schedules shows of local artists in this space; since 1991, TSL has collaborated with more than forty artists, including painters, sculptors, architects, fabric designers, photographers, and mixed-media artists. As a result of working closely with so many local artists to produce these shows, TSL has developed strong relationships with the artist community in Hudson. For instance, in the spring of 1999, TSL showed Michael Pilon's *Mu*, an art installation that consisted of an abstract arrangement of gnarled wooden fence posts and broken sandstone rocks. In the fall of 1999, TSL showed *Close But Not Art?*, an artfully exhibited set of found objects by Judith Grunberg. One reviewer commented on *Close But Not Art?*, "Part of what makes the show unique and important (and important shows are rare) is the way it questions its own premise....Luckily, the show is not an accomplished fact, demanding that we accept this as art. Rather, questions are raised and repeated."¹⁰²

TSL's efforts to show the work of local artists in the gallery space at the TSL Warehouse are a form of cultural organizing. Mussmann and Bruce know that many artists have their own following, and that by scheduling local artists they can bring new people to the TSL Warehouse. "It is a way to get people into the space," explains Mussmann. At the same time, TSL also runs a lot of other community oriented activities at the TSL Warehouse. People may come to see a show by a local

¹⁰² Jaeger, 1998

artist, but, as Mussmann explains, “Then they accidentally get into a whole range of other things.” The shows also expose people who are involved in other TSL programs and activities to the work of local artists.

By opening up the TSL WareHouse for shows by local artists, TSL has also strengthened ties with the many people in Hudson who enjoy going to art galleries. Through coming to the gallery shows, or the movies, or the theater productions at the TSL WareHouse, artists and other “artsy” people build a relationship with TSL. Many become members; others become more substantial supporters. For example, in 1999, hundreds of people paid TSL’s \$40 membership dues, and over ten people contributed more than \$5000 dollars each. TSL is a non-profit organization and depends on these donations to operate. In addition, by using these donations to run programs that are oriented toward long-term residents as well as newcomers, TSL leverages the resources of the “artsy” part of the community to serve the needs of the entire community.

But TSL does not devote the gallery space exclusively to professional artists. TSL also uses the space to provide people in Hudson with opportunities to use art to explore their history, their identity, and their values and to communicate their understanding and their vision to other people. For instance, in the fall of 1999 through the spring of 2000, TSL ran a show called *The Draft*. It consisted of over 100 photos of young men who were photographed on the Hudson courthouse steps as part of their conscription during WW II. The photos, all black and white, lined the walls of the gallery space.

TSL made *The Draft* its contribution to Hudson's annual ArtsWalk, an event that caters primarily to artsy newcomers to Hudson, second homeowners in the Hudson River Valley, and tourists from New York City. Many people who were taking part in the ArtsWalk activities came to the show. Their comments in the show's comment book revealed that they tended to look at the photos as art, appreciating their aesthetic value.

Local residents were also drawn to the show, but they tended to look at the photos not as art, but as history. Jack Mabb wrote in the *Independent*, a local paper, "The photos document the draft beginning in 1941. Most have a handful of men, some scores, and a few just a single inductee. At the peak of the war, the photos, taken by Rowle's Studio at the direction of the County Board of Supervisors, were taken every few days. Studying the photos, one sees the pride, the eagerness to serve and the patriotism in the faces of more than 1,000 fresh inductees ready to travel to Europe or the South Pacific, the major theaters of World War II. They are farmers and kids fresh out of high school, poultrymen and laborers. And they are also what they became when they returned: teachers are here, a future mayor, a city judge, and an only recently retired dentist."¹⁰⁴

Many of the local residents who came to the show were members of the community who were drafted and who had served in the war. The veterans and draftees looked at the show as an important part of their history. "It brought back a lot of memories

¹⁰⁴ Mabb, 1999.

for me,” says Mr. Cordato, who is glad the photos were preserved “so people won’t forget.”¹⁰⁵ According to Mussmann, “Those veterans come in here, and they are proud. Hudson is their home. They are proud those photos are here.”

In addition to simply looking at the photos, many members of the community spontaneously brought things to the TSL WareHouse to be a part of the show. A resident of nearby Philmont brought a 1940’s supplement to the local paper entitled, “An Album of Hudson’s Heroes: They Serve so That We Remain Free.” Another person brought a biography of people who served in war that included each person’s hometown and dates of service. TSL exhibited the items that people brought in the gallery space along with the photos, making the show more interactive. Instead of a photo exhibit in an art gallery, *The Draft* became a collaboration between TSL and the community, where members of the community were able to share their experiences with each other.

By putting the draft photos in the gallery space, TSL equated the documentation of local history with the work of professional artists and challenged the divisions in Hudson between artists and long-term residents who traditionally have not been very involved in art events or art places. People came to see an art show, and they saw photos of the draft. Almost by mistake, they were engaged in the local history of Hudson. TSL took advantage of the element of surprise working the opposite way as well: people expect to see old photographs of draftees in the town hall or the library, but not lining the walls of a gallery space. According to Mussmann, “We cut

¹⁰⁵ Mabb, 1999.

across boundaries. We seize a thing, and name it. With the draft photos show, we put something at TSL that doesn't belong here. Because it is here, it is more interesting. Sometimes you have to displace things in order to elevate their value.”

Mussmann and Bruce understand how the unexpected attracts attention and how juxtaposition invites comparison because of their experience putting on productions. They believe that media coverage also functions as a kind of displacement, attracting attention to an event in the same way that showing unexpected things in the TSL WareHouse attracts attention. “When the draft photos were on TV, more local people got interested,” says Mussmann. “TV creates an aura of importance about what is local. The local has to become important nationally and then it is considered important locally.” TSL’s attention to the role of displacement reveals the role their long history in theater and drama can play in other aspects of their work. Not simply artists, and not simply activists, Mussmann and Bruce are cultural workers who bring their unique perspective as artists to their community- building efforts in Hudson.

TSL WareHouse: Community Center

The idea that art and creativity and theater have something to offer everyday community life underlies all the work of TSL. In addition to involving members of the community in art activities at the TSL WareHouse, Mussmann and Bruce have also become actively involved in the neighborhood watch in the part of town where they live and the TSL WareHouse is located. “Several years ago,” Mussmann explains, “There was a shooting on our side of town. It was black kids shooting black kids. No one said anything. There had been a lot of drugs. You would stop at

stoplight, and kids would come and offer you drugs. People didn't speak out. We did a letter and asked our neighbors to sign it. We all went together to a Common Council meeting. I asked people to stand up when I read their name."

The TSL WareHouse has become a place where the community has been able to organize itself to address violence, drug sales, and drug abuse. According to Mussmann, "We offered Time & Space Limited as a space to meet. Over one hundred people came. Claudia and I moderated it. We formed a neighborhood watch called Neighborhood Joined for Action, and we started walking."

Mussmann and Bruce have brought their unique perspective as artists and as community activists to the neighborhood watch. Mussmann explains, "We think you need to invite imagination into thinking about crime, drugs, and some of the awful things," The neighborhood watch, she says, "is like theater. We go out there with a bunch of walkie talkies. People could be spectators. Parades are important—someone watching and someone parading. It is the same with theater. And we made sure we were written about. What drives a small community is gossip, so we got the press involved. That is how we came to it — publicity, focus, imitation, drama, risk. All those things came at something so simple like neighborhood watch."

Mussmann and Bruce have faced a lot of criticism in the course of standing out against crime. Being engaged in a complex community issue like drug dealing is a risky move for any organization, but especially for one founded by relative newcomers to Hudson and newcomer artists at that. Bruce explains, "Your actions

always meet with some comment, and you have to go on.” Again, their history as artists serves them well as activists. According to Bruce, “You have to have a thick skin. We were trained for that because we have been in theater all of these years. You put yourself out there. You don’t take it personally. We’ve had a lot of bad reviews in our life, and that doesn’t stop the work.”

At the same time, being involved in the complexities of their community enables Mussmann and Bruce to build relationships with people in the community. Paul Kisselbrack is a detective with the Hudson Police Department who was born and raised in Hudson. Forty years old, white, and a self-described “ultra-conservative,” Kisselbrack understands the suspicion that many long-term residents have for “carpet-baggers”, a local term which he says refers to people “who don’t have some relative buried in the local cemetery.” According to Kisselbrack, long-term residents “had questions about what TSL could offer the community”, particularly because they were artists and they were gay. These concerns escalated, he said, when Neighborhood Joined for Action held a few demonstrations at night shining big flashlights on late-night visitors to Hudson and holding up signs, “If you are here to buy drugs, we are watching you.” Kisselbrack believed that long-term residents had problems with Neighborhood Joined for Action’s theatrical demonstrations because they drew outside attention to Hudson and threatened the community’s “quaint conservative atmosphere.”

Despite his initial reservations about what role TSL might play in the community, Kisselbrack has developed a strong working relationship with Mussmann and Bruce.

Through his job at the police department, he works with Neighborhood Joined for Action to reduce the drug trade in Hudson. “We call the Neighborhood Joined for Action people the NinJA’s,” he explains. In addition, Kisselbrack sometimes helps find donations for the kids programs at the TSL WareHouse.

Kisselbrack’s thoughts on TSL reveal how Mussmann and Bruce have been able to build complicated relationships with people in the Hudson. “I don’t consider myself an artsy person,” Kisselbrack explains, “and some of what [Mussmann and Bruce] do arts-wise doesn’t interest me, but that doesn’t mean I don’t support their goals, which I see as helping to make Hudson a cleaner, more open, more accepting community.” By bridging differences, and setting up situations where differences can be bridged, TSL contributes to the process of developing an inclusive community built on diversity and respect.

The TSL WareHouse is a public space that reflects the community where it is. It doesn’t leave anyone out: not the artists, the long-term residents, the history of the town, the current problems or community activism. The TSL WareHouse’s inclusiveness makes it accessible, and so it is able to serve as a place that links different parts of the community together.

Bringing Art

The previous two sections describe two roles of TSL: building community and creating public space. Although it is impossible to separate out TSL’s third role, bringing art, from the other two, it is important to explore in more depth the

significance of this role for TSL's work and for Hudson. At TSL, bringing art to the community means both creating opportunities for Hudson residents to enjoy, or at least see, art, whether that is films, music, gallery exhibits by visual artists, or TSL's own theatrical productions, and creating opportunities for Hudson residents to make art, whether that is through kids programs, oral history, video, or participating in TSL's theatrical productions.

The process of making and encouraging community-based art is, more than anything, a function of the relationship between TSL and the community. Mussmann and Bruce are artists, and so they need an audience. Residents of Hudson don't have a lot of opportunities to take part in community-based cultural activities, or express themselves to an audience, and so they need an art institution. But the process of creating community-based art raises many questions: What are people interested in? How can people communicate, even when what is being communicated seems threatening, different, or dangerous? Are people willing to be surprised? Are they willing to listen, and to see? Are they willing to change? Looking more closely at TSL's efforts to bring art to Hudson reveals how Mussmann and Bruce, as well as other residents of Hudson, must constantly negotiate the answers to these questions.

Mussmann and Bruce encourage people to learn about what they don't know, and question what they do know, by engineering interesting, entertaining and sometimes confusing combinations of what is familiar and what is unfamiliar. TSL's approach, Mussmann explains, is: "Bring them in, and show them something new."

This approach is a product, in part, of TSL's history in Hudson: "When we first started, not many people were interested in our theater," Mussmann remembers. "But Claudia has a great voice. Instead of a theater, TSL became a cabaret. We built cabaret tables. We expanded our audience. People didn't come to my work, they came because Claudia was singing, and singing was something people could understand. But the singing would have a political message."

The approach of "bringing them in, and showing them something new" runs through one of the most long-standing programs at TSL: movie nights on Friday, Saturday and Sunday nights for \$3.50 a ticket. The movies are a community event. According to Mussmann, "There is a spark you can see when people are watching something with a group. It is different from sitting at home. Older people bring their grandchildren. Seeing a movie at TSL is something special. And it is inexpensive and consistent." Usually, about thirty people come on Saturday, fifteen on Friday and twenty on Sunday. On most nights, Mussmann takes tickets and Bruce sells popcorn.

Mussmann and Bruce show old movies, foreign movies, children's movies, cult movies, etc. One month in the fall of 1999, they showed *Don Giovanni*, the opera directed by Joseph Losey, the classic *Casablanca* with Humphrey Bogart, John Houston's *Fat City* and *Chinatown*, *Raise the Red Lantern* from China's Zhang Yimou, and Jean Luc Godard's *Weekend*. Because different films attract different audiences, a big mix of people comes to TSL for the movies.

But Mussmann and Bruce don't just show a little bit of something for everyone. They also try to expose people to things they haven't seen or thought they wouldn't like, with people they didn't know before. For instance, TSL runs a special Cinemalux series as part of its regular movie programming. At Cinemalux shows, the directors and screenwriters, who are often local, talk about the movies with the audience. In the fall of 1999, TSL showed a movie written by Rudy Wurlitzer, the screenwriter of *Pat Garrett and Billy the Kid* and *Little Buddha* as well as many other scripts. Rudy Wurlitzer is also a ten-year resident of Hudson.

At the screening, Wurlitzer spoke about life as a screenwriter and his experiences writing the script to the feature film of the event. A lot of people came to the movie because Wurlitzer, or at least the movies he has been involved in, is famous. But the movie TSL chose for the event wasn't just one of Wurlitzer's famous movies. It was a lesser-known work, *Walker*, which spoke to the political situation in the town. Hudson was in the midst of an election campaign. Many of the incumbent officials had held power for thirty or more years; one had been recently been convicted on charges of fraud, and rumors of corruption in city government were growing.

Walker is based on the story of William Walker, a soldier of fortune who conquered Nicaragua in 1855 and installed himself as President, took over Cornelius Vanderbilt's transit company's route across Nicaragua, and planned to conquer the rest of Central America. According to Wurlitzer, the movie explored "the confluence of history and power- specifically the relinquishment of power for the

betterment of society.”¹⁰⁶ Wurlitzer suggested, “There’s a lot of abuse of power in this town. Maybe that’s why Linda (Mussmann) wanted to show *Walker*.”¹⁰⁷

By using art to introduce political questions, Mussmann and Bruce encourage people in Hudson to look at their community and the events in the town in new and creative ways. And by holding events that appeal to a wide variety of people for a wide variety of reasons, Mussmann and Bruce create a place where people can take part in a dialogue about issues that are important to the community.

In Hudson, encouraging dialogue within the community has often involved introducing conflict. For example, through working with young people through the kids’ programs, Mussmann and Bruce became involved in the issue of the schools in Hudson. The kids identified a lot of problems with the schools: the lack of teachers of color, the disrespect of students, the lack of a challenging curriculum, and the lack of resources. By making the issue of the schools a part of their theater productions, as in *My Dinner With Matthew* and other works, and by incorporating these issues into their film series, TSL encouraged dialogue about these issues within the community. Then, in a dramatic gesture to draw attention to the problems with the schools, Mussmann ran for school board in 1997. With no political background and never having had any children of her own in the school system, Mussmann had little chance of winning. But her running for the position did encourage dialogue about the schools in the community, and she won several hundred votes, revealing the weakness of the incumbents. Two years later, in 1999, the slate of candidates that

¹⁰⁶ Heinsohn, 1999.

had controlled political power in Hudson for decades was voted out of office. Although the outcome of that election was due to many factors, TSL played an important role by creating opportunities for local residents to consider community issues and, through Mussmann's bid for a position on the school board, by suggesting the possibility of change.

TSL's role as an agent of change in the community has been controversial. For example, in the mid-1990's when TSL first offered the kids programs, the city government was very supportive of the organization, even providing funding to support the summer programs. When TSL began to encourage dialogue about problems in the schools and the impact of drugs in Hudson on young people, however, the relationship between the arts organization and the government became more strained. TSL stopped getting funding from city sources altogether after Mussmann and Bruce became involved in suggesting the possibility of change through political means. At TSL, being a community-based arts organization has involved both creating a place where issues facing the community emerge and can be discussed and encouraging community involvement in solving those problems.

A Time to Talk: Local Residents Speak

In addition to bringing art and culture from other places to Hudson and encouraging dialogue within the community, TSL also runs programs that provide ways for local residents to express themselves to local, and also national and international audiences. TSL's *A Time to Talk* series is an example. The *A Time to Talk* series has

¹⁰⁷ Heinsohn, 1999.

grown out of an early collaboration between TSL and Mr. James B. Snead, an 87 year-old African-American neighbor of the TSL WareHouse. For the first few years after TSL bought the TSL WareHouse, Mr. Snead just appreciated Mussmann and Bruce as good neighbors. He saw them fixing up the place next door to him that had been abandoned for years, and he saw them mowing the grass in the adjacent vacant lot. A sixty-year resident of Hudson, Mr. Snead had an interest himself in building community. He noticed the divisions between residents in Hudson; he also saw that it seemed like all the black kids in town were going to prison.

Having grown up in the South, been in the military, worked in factory jobs for over forty years, Mr. Snead has faced a lot of discrimination. He believes that prejudice is produced by the divisions in society that keep people isolated from each other, creating misunderstanding and distrust. He explains, "When I walk into a store, the people that watch me, they don't know me." Instead of blaming the individual, Snead thinks people are a product of their circumstances. He explains his philosophy by telling a story: "When you are working, sometimes there is a supervisor who doesn't like to see you taking a break. But that is what they were born into - that the black guy's supposed to be doing all the heavy work.

Mr. Snead believes that people can learn respect and understanding for others through knowing individuals. Again, Snead explains his understanding by telling a story: "When I was working in Hudson, one of my best friends was a German guy. There were a lot of people in those days who were friendly to you, but they wouldn't invite you over to their house. This guy was never like that, and he would have me

over with his whole family. When I got to Germany during the war, you would always hear about how they were the enemies. I would always think about this fellow I worked with, Harry. When you meet someone, and you know them, that's what you expect from everyone. And a lot of those German guys we were fighting, they didn't want to be there any more that we did."

Snead's belief that people can change through knowing other people led him to TSL. In 1997, he worked with Mussmann and Bruce to produce a forty-minute radio documentary of Snead's life. He talks about his family, religion, and the discrimination he faced growing up in the South, working in Hudson, and serving in the army in World War II.

Sensitive to the relationship between the global media and local audiences, Mussmann and Bruce sought to distribute the documentary through international, as well as regional, media outlets. TSL has an ongoing relationship with a radio station in Germany, and they arranged for the documentary of Snead's life to be aired in Europe. The documentary has also been aired on the radio in the Hudson River Valley and distributed widely in the United States.

A Time to Talk breaks down traditional barriers that limit most people to being consumers of culture and reserve the production of culture for few highly skilled entertainment professionals concentrated in major cities. Currently, TSL is working with a number of other Hudson residents to record and produce their stories, including a life-long cab driver in Hudson, a woman who struggled with substance

abuse and worked as a prostitute for many years before turning her life around and rebuilding her family, and a ninety-year-old former actress who was blackballed for anti-American activities during the McCarthy era. According to Mussmann, “In our city of Hudson, as in many places, we are all influenced by the media. We are naive to believe that Matthew Thompson has not seen and experienced the world via his TV and has opinions perhaps as valid as Larry King. We are all part of the planet. We all have a voice and we all want to be heard. Perhaps the voice needs a forum. We see that as the role of Time & Space Limited. We feel that our multi-arts center can create an awareness of the individual in this incredibly complicated landscape where home and origin are being redefined by the village of the universe.”

Snead agrees in the value of recording the perspectives of Hudson residents. “A lot of young people should listen to that tape,” he says about his own recording. “They think they can’t make it.” But it is also clear that even aside from the successful collaboration in making the tape and initiating TSL’s *A Time to Talk* series, Snead’s initial impression of TSL is still important to him. “All I can say about Hudson,” he says, “is you sure have some lovely neighbors.”

TSL’s Theater Productions

One major impact of TSL’s extensive involvement in bringing art to the community and creating opportunities for people in Hudson to express themselves through art has been the growth of an audience for Mussmann and Bruce’s own creative work. According to Mussmann, “They come to see our plays because they know our

movies and liked them. They think, “Those girls like John Wayne, they can’t be all bad.”

A second, perhaps more important impact of the strong relationship between TSL and Hudson has been the transformation of Mussmann and Bruce’s own art. Through developing their theater productions with Matthew Thompson, working with local residents to produce the *A Time to Talk* series, organizing the neighborhood watch and the community dinners, running the kids programs, and developing shows with local artists, Mussmann and Bruce have learned a lot about Hudson and have become very connected to the community. As a result, they have become motivated to speak to local issues through their art.

Mixing their avant-garde heritage with their community orientation has been a complicated process. Mussmann and Bruce have collaborated for almost thirty years. Mussmann is the writer and director, and Bruce is the editor and performer. Since she began doing theater in the 1960’s, Mussmann has avoided writing narrative texts. She explained, “I liked to speak in codes which made no sense. It was a reaction against the realism of 40’s and 50’s theater. It was so filled with reality. It was boring. My work didn’t seem to make sense. You had to try to solve it, try to figure it out. It set up strange lands, and strange places. The actors didn’t speak to each other. I was not interested in drama and emotion. I created false spaces. It was very emotional, but you never really understood why.”

When she came to Hudson, Mussmann was worried about the impact that writing in a different place would have on her work. She remembered that she asked herself at that time, “How do I speak to this audience without compromising my madness?” Mussmann found that she herself changed: “I am secure in the building. I am more responsible, meaning more to more people.” She also found that her work changed: “I have to be more inclusive. I offer more things for people to grab onto.” As she got more involved in Hudson, Mussmann began to see how her art and Hudson fit together. “As the world made no sense, there was less point in me making no sense,” she says. “I came up with another way of speaking. It seemed to make sense. In fact it made no sense.” As a result, Mussmann and Bruce have produced at least two new productions a year during TSL’s last eight years in Hudson.¹⁰⁸

TSL’s development of a show called *Mao Wow!* in the spring of 1999 illustrates how this process actually works. Mussmann remembers, “I was hanging out at the donut place. I thought what kind of avant-garde artist hangs out at the donut place?” Going to the donut shop led Mussmann to think about the role of the artist in the context of popular culture. “I saw Proust, going to Dunkin’ Donuts to recall his past,” she says, concluding, “There is no place to think if you are out in suburbia.” It

¹⁰⁸ Including such performances as *A Lincoln* (a text about the life of Mary Todd Lincoln), *M.A.C.B.E.T.H.* (as seen through the eyes of Lady MacBeth, adapted from Shakespeare’s classic), *Danton’s Death* (adapted from George Büchner’s play about the French Revolution), *Arkadin Overruled* (an adaptation of Chekhov’s *The Seagull*), *Hedda Possessed* (an adaptation of Ibsen’s *Hedda Gabler*), *White Noise* (a theatrical collage), *Moby Dick: Looking Out* (an exploration of Melville’s classic), *Let ’em Eat Biscuits* (a satire about politics in a small town), *My 20th Century* (an audio/video/live memoir based on Linda’s mother’s scrapbooks), *The Madame Caillaux Affair* (a dreamlike musical based on a trial that rocked France at the beginning of World War I), *Going Over Kansas* (a re-working of an earlier dance/theater piece for a 50-year-old woman and 14-year-old girl), *Thoughts on Moby-Dick, Part 2: Pursuit* (the continuing examination of Melville’s classic) and *Mao Wow!*

also made her consider the relationship between popular culture and what is considered “art.” “There are a lot of things that are supposed to be beneath artists. I think what fascinates most people is worth checking out, worth looking at. You have to remove that class distinction.” Thinking about the donut shop also led Mussmann to seek to understand the context of her community. “I started taking Greenport, the suburban town that surrounds Hudson, into consideration. What is this place where I do my shopping? What are all the components of my community? How do I engage with it and get it in here?” The result of all these inquiries, and a lot of other artistic inspiration, was the play called *Mao Wow!* Mussmann remembers, “My mother had just died. It inspired me to get to the point. I wrote a long complicated text all about revolution and change.”

Mao Wow! was based loosely on the final days of Jing Quiang, a Chinese actress who became the third wife of Mao Tse Tung. As part of the Gang of Four, she helped engineer China’s Cultural Revolution as a way to attack bourgeois privilege and bring Chinese communism back to the working class. After 1976, when Mao died, Jing Quiang and the other members of the Gang of Four were arrested. Madame Mao spent 10 years in prison and died, according to the Chinese government, by suicide in 1991.

Throughout the play, Madame Mao, who devoted herself to stamping out every vestige of capitalism in China, is in a prison cell on stage. Surrounded by empty cartons of Chinese food, Coke bottles, and a TV monitor that blinks endlessly but shows no picture, Madame Mao, played by Bruce, is imprisoned in more ways than

one. For Mussmann, exploring Madame Mao's fate is an opportunity to look at her own mixed feelings about political engagement. Even as we watch Madame Mao's growing doubts about the impact of her devotion to the class struggle (she realizes in her prison cell, "Think of all I did for China. What did China do for me? I was Mao's dog!") we learn that Linda [Mussmann] is thinking of running for mayor in Hudson. Madame Mao eventually commits suicide by hanging herself in her cell. Linda, meanwhile, decides not to run for mayor, which she sees as "a noose around the truth."

But political engagement isn't the only approach to solving the world's problems that is questioned in TSL's *Mao Wow!* Psychoanalysis doesn't seem to be any better. When Freud emerges and tries to get Madame Mao to talk about her feelings, Madame Mao falls into a hysterical crying frenzy. In *Mao Wow!* nothing escaped scrutiny. This willingness to question is a signature of Mussmann's work. According to a reviewer, "It's 'about' Madame Mao as much as any of their plays are 'about' their characters. It's about the conflict between the will to accomplish some good in the world and the engulfing nature of consumer-oriented society. Working out of a tradition that eschews narrative plot and character development, Mussmann offers us instead a play that is grounded in present realities, that takes seriously the calling of theater to awaken us to the world we live in."¹⁰⁹

At the same time that Madame Mao and Linda are thinking about the viability of achieving social good through political means, the two teenage characters in the play,

¹⁰⁹ Mason, 1999.

Kate and Maarika, are questioning the appropriateness of the color of their lipstick and whether or not Kate should quit school. In the play, the fact that the teenagers' concerns are given weight equal to Mussmann and Madame Mao's concerns about politics is both a function of the structure of the production and a statement about whose concerns are important and how very different concerns can coexist within a play (and a community) at the same time.

The two teenagers, Kate and Maarika, are played by two fifteen-year-old residents of Hudson, Kate Stein and Maarika Polikarpus. Both have been involved with TSL for several years. When they involve young people in productions, Mussmann and Bruce work with them on their performance skills: how to speak, how to move, how to express a character on stage. And, as in the case of *Mao Wow!*, Mussmann and Bruce also involve the teenagers conceptually in the production. According to Mussmann, "Everyone is equal on stage. I wrote in their concerns to their part. And they wrote part of it themselves. When we were rehearsing the show, they kept talking about Kate dropping out of school. There was also the whole question of was the color of Kate's lipstick right. In the play, there is this idea of revolution, and red is the color of revolution, but also it is the color of Revlon." Madame Mao's obsession with ideological purity is bizarrely parallel to the teenagers' obsession with getting the color of their lipstick right. Mussmann points out, "It is all very logical in a disjointed way."

The fact that TSL's shows speak to people on many levels makes them more accessible. "Kids loved it," Mussmann remembers. "Kids love what I write. They wanted it to be crazier. They are fans of TSL's crazy way of putting things together."

Teenage Interns at TSL

In addition to involving local teenagers as performers in TSL productions, Mussmann and Bruce also involve two or three teenagers at a time as interns at the TSL WareHouse. Interns start at \$6.00 an hour, with raises based on experience. They work with Mussmann and Bruce in all aspects of running the TSL WareHouse: fundraising, publicity, set construction, lights, sound, video and other audio-visual production, setting up gallery shows, helping with the kid's programs, maintaining the WareHouse, etc. Mussmann and Bruce understand that they couldn't get all the work at TSL done without the help of the interns. At the same time, they see hiring teenagers, many of them with little work experience or even formal education, as a kind of mentoring program.

Simply by involving them in the many varied activities of TSL, Mussmann and Bruce teach the teenagers a wide variety of skills. Mussmann's strategy for working with teenagers comes out of her experience growing up on a farm. She remembers, "They never told us what we were learning. There was no time to explain. It was 'Watch this, do this, imitate me. Don't contradict me, don't help me, watch me.' And then a gradual pulling away from it and letting us do it ourselves."

Beau Jolie is an eighteen-year-old intern at TSL. He is white, plays electric guitar, and wants to be a rock star. Kicked out of high school at seventeen, he lives on his own in a subsidized apartment in Hudson. Mussmann and Bruce helped him find the apartment. He has worked at TSL for over a year. Beau is enthusiastic about what he has learned working at TSL, especially compared to the other options he faces in Hudson. “When I came to TSL, I thought the job would be sweeping floors. But it has been real versatile, and I have learned a lot of skills on the job. A lot of what I do is maintenance: mailings, typing things. I also help out with the plays; I run the lights. Linda [Mussmann] taught me how to use the video recorder. I can fix a four-way plug; I know how to rewire it. I can set up a bunch of lights out there. It is like a roller coaster. Every day I walk to work and I wonder what it is going to be like. At McDonald’s, you have to wear a uniform, and it is so repetitive. I have repetition. Here, every day is different.”

In addition to teaching them skills, Mussmann and Bruce also engage with the teenagers. They talk with them about basic, everyday things. They encourage them. They enforce rules. It is clear that their relationships with Mussmann and Bruce mean a lot to the interns at TSL. According to Beau Jolie, “Every time I get tired of doing stuff, I think to myself, ‘This is better than McDonald’s.’ It pays better, and Linda [Mussmann] is nice. She talks to you.”

Perhaps most importantly, Mussmann and Bruce share their life, which is TSL, and their love of theater and art with the interns. According to Mussmann, “The driving force of this project is to enable people to do anything because they are able to

understand how things work. We set up a place where one can make mistakes, without too high a price, and where people can learn to understand the cause of things. With this understanding, one is able to do many things. Developing this understanding is possible via art because it is through the creating of models that we can begin to understand how the system that we have created works and how we fit into the system or how we do not. Through the art room, or the theater, the book, the canvas or the photo lab, we create models of the world.”

Beau puts his understanding of the role of art in his life in less theoretical terms. “The plays,” he explains, “A lot of them I don’t get. The whole political satire thing I don’t really follow. But a lot of them are really funny.” Beau appreciates the chances he has at TSL to watch how the productions develop and to take part in making them happen. “Everyone gives ideas,” he explains. For example, Beau was in charge of lighting during a rehearsal for TSL’s latest production, *Fast Food*. At the end of the rehearsal, Mussmann turned to Beau and asked for “a word from our critic.” Beau answered, “You know what we should have? A big circular stage that turns like a big lazy susan.” The play is currently a work in progress, so maybe Beau’s idea will be incorporated into the production.

Building community, creating public space, bringing art; these are the things that TSL does best. Although it is difficult to quantify the impact of Mussmann and Bruce’s work, it is clear that it contributes to the revitalization of Hudson in many basic ways: bridging differences, building connections between people, encouraging creativity, valuing local experience, teaching skills, and enabling self-expression.

These aspects of community, while they are not easily measured, are the foundation for democratic society.

Chapter IV: Conclusion

Facing disinvestment and unemployment, many places have looked to culture-based strategies for revitalization. But communities and policy-makers should recognize that not all culture-based strategies are the same. Traditional models of community-based revitalization have been criticized for contributing to gentrification, social polarization, and cultural discrimination. Communities seeking to avoid the contradictions of market-oriented culture-based revitalization strategies can look to the efforts of community-based organizations for alternative models of how culture and art can contribute to revitalization.

In the theoretical section of this thesis, I developed a framework for understanding the history and goals of traditional culture-based revitalization strategies. I explored some of the contradictions of these strategies, as well as alternative approaches designed to address these contradictions. I suggested that many of these alternative proposals share the drawbacks of traditional culture-based revitalization strategies because their benefits are defined solely in economic terms. Instead, I argued, culture-based revitalization strategies should be redefined to include both economic and non-economic values.

The in-depth case study of Hudson, New York illustrates these concepts in the context of a city currently undergoing a market-oriented arts-based revitalization. Like many other cities in the United States and other declining manufacturing centers, Hudson has steadily lost its manufacturing base in the last fifty years. Suburbanization led to a decline in the population and to reduced economic activity

in the commercial district in the 1950's and 60's. Despite massive federal intervention, unemployment, underemployment, and poverty increased.

As in other declining cities, artists and arts-oriented people were attracted by Hudson's inexpensive and often unoccupied commercial and industrial buildings. Many newcomers relocated to Hudson, opening antiques shops, art galleries and studios of their own. They have led a revitalization of the city that is primarily based on the arts. Today, many of these newcomers are active in promoting other market-oriented culture-based revitalization strategies, including a mixed-use waterfront development on the banks of the Hudson River.

Many of the contradictions of traditional culture-based revitalization strategies revealed in the literature have emerged in Hudson. On the one hand, the main street is filled with shops, the calendar is filled with cultural events, and many of the old, dilapidated buildings are being restored. But, as in the literature, the arts-based revitalization in Hudson has contributed to gentrification: services catering to local residents have been driven out by rising commercial rents. In contrast to most places, Hudson's low-income residents are insulated from pressures on the housing market because of the accessibility of public housing. But, as in many other cities undergoing revitalization, the rising rents for apartments in some parts of town have led to increasing spatial segregation among the rich and the poor. And, as described in the literature, cultural divisions between the newcomers and the locals have meant that many of the arts activities initiated by the newcomers are inaccessible to long-

term residents. In addition, many of the arts-oriented enterprises are owner-operated, and so the economic impacts of the revitalization are not widely shared.

However, the activities of TSL show how community-based arts organizations can play an important role in addressing the social, cultural, spatial and economic divisions that often accompany market-oriented arts-based revitalization. By creating programs that bring together different parts of the community, TSL has helped reduce the polarization in the community between artists and non-artists and newcomers and locals. By creating opportunities for long-term residents to develop a voice and be creative, TSL has encouraged dialogue within the community and created momentum for change. By leveraging the funds of donors to create programs for Hudson's youth and long-term residents, and by making the TSL WareHouse available for a variety of community activities such as the neighborhood watch, TSL has created ways to share the resources of the "artsy" part of Hudson's community with the entire community. By making local issues a part of their own theatrical productions and by having arts-oriented events that appeal to a wide range of people, TSL makes the arts more accessible and relevant to a broader spectrum of the community. By developing programs in collaboration with members of the community, TSL gives local people a role in the "arts community." And by hiring interns, TSL has ensured that local teenagers are able to take advantage of some of the economic benefits of having arts organizations in the community. Many of the impacts of TSL's work are non-economic, but they contribute to the revitalization of the community in very basic and important ways.

Hudson, and the role of TSL in Hudson, is an interesting example of the complexities of culture-based revitalization strategies and what a community-based arts organization can contribute to that process. Perhaps more important, however, is what Hudson tells us about how culture-based revitalization might best take place in other places.

At this point, this thesis becomes more speculative. Based on TSL's contributions to Hudson's revitalization through the arts, it seems clear that culture-based revitalization strategies should be redefined to include both economic and non-economic goals. It is tempting to suggest that communities planning revitalization through the arts use TSL as a model: every community building a culture-based revitalization program should create an arts organization to do what TSL does in Hudson- build community, create public space and bring art through kids' programs, theater productions, an internship program, a film series, an oral history project, gallery space and other programs modelled after TSL's.

However, to suggest that the programs TSL has implemented in Hudson would be appropriate for all communities would fail to recognize that community-based art has to be developed in collaboration with local residents. It would also fail to recognize that many communities, like Hudson does, already have community-based arts organizations that are committed to the same kinds goals of building community, developing voice among residents, and creating dialogue.

I believe communities planning revitalization through the arts should build on the resources and organizations that exist within their communities. In this way, culture-based revitalization strategies can both support existing institutions and avoid the banality that many communities have produced by applying generic approaches to culture-based revitalization, such as waterfront development in Rotterdam and mixed-use development at the South Street Seaport in New York City.

Instead of providing a model for creating new organizations, I think TSL provides insight into what planners, funders and other proponents of culture-based revitalization should look for when considering extending support to existing organizations as part of a larger culture-based revitalization strategy. The example of TSL in Hudson also suggests the limitations of what planners should expect community-based arts organizations to contribute to revitalization efforts.

What, then, does the example of TSL in Hudson tell us about how planners might more effectively identify organizations in communities that can play a role in culture-based revitalization strategies? First, planners should seek community-based organizations that have a demonstrated commitment to the community. TSL bought the TSL WareHouse, and Mussmann and Bruce live nearby. The fact that they are part of the community both makes them more aware of community issues and gives them more credibility in making these issues a part of TSL's programs. And the relationship they build with people as residents are important in their ability to effectively conduct outreach for TSL.

Although it is important that community-based arts organizations have an investment in the community where they operate, planners should not assume that the staff being from the community, or even like most members of the community, is necessary for the successful contribution of an arts organization to community revitalization. Mussmann and Bruce are not from Hudson; they are from Georgia and Illinois via New York City. They are not like many of the local residents and newcomers with whom they work; they are gay avant garde artists. Often, planners and funders assume that the only people who can work with a community are people who are from that community. While it is important to recognize the significance of self-determination and respect the resources that are internal to communities, it is also valuable to recognize that people and organizations can build cross-class, cross-race, cross-gender and cross-age relationships. In many ways, Musssmann and Bruce's dual role as outsiders and insiders helped them develop arts programs that included both local and unfamiliar elements. By creating art and running programs that people can relate to on many levels, community-based arts organizations can contribute to revitalization by both affirming local culture and suggesting the possibility of positive change.

In addition, planners and others who are seeking to work with community-based arts organizations should recognize that it is not necessary for the arts groups to be full fledged "organizations." Although TSL has an effective board of directors that plays an important role in fundraising for the organization, the day-to-day operation of TSL is essentially a two-person show. In many ways, TSL's board of directors doesn't reflect the community; it is much more wealthy, more white, and more

dominated by people with an interest in the arts than is the community in which TSL is involved. In addition, it is unclear who would continue the work of TSL if anything happened to Mussmann and Bruce. Perhaps in the arts, more than in other fields, ideas of “organizational sustainability” are complicated by the fact that in many ways most artists are unique. TSL operates the way it does because of Mussmann and Bruce’s particular artistic vision and particular orientation toward the community. To pay too much attention to “organizational development” issues would be to lose track of the very important contributions that TSL can make to the revitalization of Hudson today, and for the indefinite future. Planners and other proponents of culture-based revitalization strategies should not be limited by any single model for what makes a successful community-based arts organization. Identifying and working with individuals who are doing good work may be just as important as finding stable organizations.

Planners should also recognize that supporting community-based arts organizations often means investing in relationships, not programs. Few of the projects TSL runs are unique: potlucks, kids programs, gallery shows, movies and theater productions are all very common ideas. The relationship between TSL and the community is much more important in the success of the organization’s work than the specific details of any one program. For example, when people in Hudson who don’t consider themselves “artsy,” and in fact have never been in one of the sixty antique stores on the main street of their town in their life, come to see a TSL production because they are a neighbor of TSL and they brought chocolate chip cookies to the Lincoln’s Birthday potluck and because their nephew is working the lights, and they

don't understand everything in the play but for some reason they can't explain they like it, the divisions between the "arts community" and the long term residents is broken down. Instead of looking for innovative programs and funding specific projects, planners, funders and other proponents of community-based revitalization should encourage, support and cultivate community-based arts organizations that build ongoing, complicated relationships with the community based on trust, inclusiveness and respect.

How, then, are planners and funders to recognize the relationships between arts organizations and communities that would enable the arts organizations to contribute to culture-based revitalization? The arts organizations should be oriented towards the local community. At TSL, the art and the art programs speak to local issues, include local references, and involve local people. In addition, the arts organizations should make their resources available to the town. TSL donates the TSL WareHouse to the neighborhood watch for a meeting space and runs kids programs at the TSL WareHouse during the summer when the kids aren't in school. The arts organizations should be multi-purpose and play a lot of different roles in the community. In Hudson, the "arts" are alienating for many people, and so TSL has a diffuse set of programs, often mixing art with other events. Planners and funders should not expect the relationship of arts organizations to communities to be without conflict. In fact, encouraging creativity and dialogue about important issues often involves conflict. In the case of Hudson, working with young people in the community has played an important role in Mussmann and Bruce's understanding of the community. A commitment to working with young people

may not be necessary for a community-based arts organization to develop a strong and productive relationship with the community, but this was an important element of TSL's contribution to revitalization efforts in Hudson.

Planners should also be aware of the limitations of what community-based arts organizations can offer to revitalization efforts. TSL was not able to counter the economic impacts of gentrification, such as the loss of affordable housing and local services in the community. TSL was also not able to overcome the fact that the economic benefits of arts-generated development are often limited and not widely distributed in the community. TSL itself only hires a few staff and is not able to pay people a wage to support a family. In addition, the people who are involved in TSL have many influences in their lives, and involvement in TSL may not be the most important one. For instance, many of the young people who have taken part in TSL programs over the years have also struggled with substance abuse, domestic violence, finishing school, finding good jobs, and other life issues that have not always been solved by their involvement in the arts. Community revitalization is a complex issue, and it demands a range of approaches that address a wide variety of issues, including both economic development and other forms of social change.

Evaluating the relationship between a community-based arts organization and a community and understanding how the organization might be contributing to revitalization is not something that can be reduced to simple measurement tools. Ultimately, planners, funders, and other proponents of culture-based revitalization may have to take a qualitative approach when choosing arts organizations as partners

in revitalization efforts. In the case of my analysis of TSL, I found talking to people who were involved with TSL programs, going to events, and discussing the work of the organization with members, staff, and local residents gave me the best insight into the organization's work and its impact on the community. Plus, it was fun.

Bibliography

Agnew, John A. The Power of Place: Bringing Together Geographical and Sociological Imaginations. Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989.

Amendola, Giandomenico. "Public Spaces and City Regeneration." In *Culture and Neighborhoods Volume 1 Concepts and References*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing, 1995.

American Council for the Arts. *The Arts in the Economic Life of the City*. New York: American Council for the Arts, 1970.

Appadurai, A. And C. A. Breckenridge. "Museums are Good to Think: Heritage on View in India." In *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture*. Karp, Ivan, C.M. Kreamer, and S.D. Lavine, eds. Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992.

Atlantic Deeper Waterways Association at Hudson. *1785-1914*. Sept. 24, 1914.

Barnes, Steve. "Culture Central." *Times Union*. October 12, 1997.

Bianchini, Franco and Massimo Torrigiani. "Concepts and Projects Around Culture and Neighborhoods." In *Culture and Neighborhoods Volume 1 Concepts and References*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing 1995.

Bianchini, Franco. "Cultural Considerations in Inner City Regeneration." In *Culture and Neighborhoods Volume I: Concepts and References*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing, 1995.

Bianchini, F. And M. Parkinson, eds. *Cultural Policy and Urban Regeneration: The West European Experience*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993.

Bianchini, Franco. "Culture, Conflict and Cities: Issues and Prospects for the 1990's." In *Cultural Policy and Urban Regeneration*. Bianchini and Parkinson, eds. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993.

Bloomfield, Jude. "Bologna: A Laboratory for Cultural Enterprise." In *Cultural Policy and Urban Regeneration*. Bianchini and Parkinson, eds. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993.

Bluestone, Barry, and Bennett Harrison. *The Deindustrialization of America : Plant Closings, Community Abandonment, and the Dismantling of Basic Industry*. New York: Basic Books, 1982.

Booth, Kathy. *Culture Builds Communities: A Guide to Partnership Building and Putting Culture to Work on Social Issues*. Washington, DC: Partners for Livable Communities, 1995.

Booth, Peter and R. Boyle. "See Glasgow, See Culture." In *Cultural Policy and Urban Regeneration*. Bianchini and Parkinson, eds. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993.

Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984.

Bruce, Claudia. Personal Interviews. Hudson, New York. 1999-2000.

Burnham, L. F. And S. Durland. *The Citizen Artist: 20 Years of Art in the Public Arena*. Gardiner, NY: Critical Press: 1998.

Cavendish Partnership: Douglas Kennedy and Associates and Bourne Consulting and Engineering. *Hudson Vision Plan- Workbook and Final Report*. March 15, 1996.

City of Hudson. *Charter of the City of Hudson*, passed April 22, 1785.

City of Hudson. *1785-1935 Sesquicentennial*.

"Claudia Bruce and Linda Mussmann." *Metroland*. December 17, 1998.

Columbia County Health Department. *Community Environmental Health Report*. 1961.

Corbett, Anne L., L. J. O'Connor, P. Cuff, and J. Smolko. *Arts in a Living Downtown: A Guide to Using Arts and Cultural Districts in Downtown Revitalization*. Washington, DC: Partners for Livable Communities. 1998.

Corijn, Eric and H. Mommaas. *Urban Cultural Policy Developments in Europe*. Strasbourg: The Council of Europe Contribution to the World Commission on Culture and Development, January 1995.

Culture and Neighborhoods, Volume I: Concepts and References. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1995.

Culture and Neighbourhoods, Volume II: A Comparative Report. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1997.

Culture and Neighbourhoods, Volume III: Talking About the Neighbourhood: Views from Locals and Artists. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1997.

Culture and Neighborhoods, Volume IV: Perspectives and Keywords. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1999.

Cwi, D. 1982. "The Focus and Impact of Arts Impact Studies." In C. Violette and R. Taqqu, eds. *Issues in Supporting the Arts*. Ithaca, NY. Cornell University, Graduate School of Business and Public Administration.

Cwi, D. and K. Lyall. *Economic Impacts of Arts and Cultural Institutions: A Model for Assessment and a Case study in Baltimore*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, Center for Metropolitan Planning and Research, 1977.

Davidson, Lynda, President, Hudson Development Corporation, in a letter to Orin Lehman, Commissioner, New York State Department of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation, July 9, 1985

“Downtown Upstream.” *The Village Voice*, December 13, 1994. Volume 39, No. 50.

Ferri, Alan, Executive Director, Hudson Housing Services Corporation, in a letter to Orin Lehman, Commissioner, New York State Department of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation, May 29, 1985

Freidrichs, J. and J. S. Dangschat. “Hamburg: Culture and Urban Competition.” In Bianchini, F. and M. Parkinson, eds. *Cultural Policy and Urban Regeneration*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993.

Frey, Bruno S. *Muses and Markets: Explorations in the Economics of the Arts*. Cambridge: B. Blackwell, 1989.

Gaither, Edmund Barry. “‘Hey, That’s Mine’: Thoughts on Pluralism and American Museums.” In Karp, Ivan, C.M. Kreamer, and S.D. Lavine, eds. *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture*. Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992.

Gomez-Pena, Guillermo. “The Other Vanguard.” In Karp, Ivan, C.M. Kreamer, and S.D. Lavine, eds. *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture*. Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992.

Gonzalez, Alcia M. and E.A. Tonelli. “Companeros and Partners: The CARA Project.” In Karp, Ivan, C.M. Kreamer, and S.D. Lavine, eds. *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture*. Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992.

Gonzalez, Julia. “Bilboa: Culture, Citizenship and Quality of Life.” In *Cultural Policy and Urban Regeneration*. Franco Bianchini and Michael Parkinson, eds. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993.

Gottlieb, Paul. “Amenities as an Economic Development Tool: Is there Enough Evidence?” Case Western Reserve University: *Economic Development Quarterly*, Vol. 8 No. 3 August, 1994.

Green, Kevin. *The City As A Stage*. Washington, DC: Partners for Livable Places, 1983.

Hajer, Maarten. “Rotterdam: Re-Designing the Public Domain.” In Bianchini and M. Parkinson, eds. *Cultural Policy and Urban Regeneration*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993.

- Harvard Business School. "Cultural Revitalization in Six Cities." In K. Green ed. *The City as A Stage: Strategies for the Arts in Urban Economics*. Washington, DC: Partners for Livable Places, 1983.
- Heilbrun, James. *The Economics of Art and Culture : An American Perspective*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Heinsohn, Gail. "Abuse of Power." *The Independent*. April 15, 1999.
- Hillman, S. "Leveraging Prosperity in Baltimore." In K. Green ed. *The City as A Stage: Strategies for the Arts in Urban Economics*. Washington, D.C.: Partners for Livable Places, 1983.
- Holbrook, Ellen L. *The Economic Impact of the Arts On the City of Boston : A Study*. Boston : ARTS/Boston : Office of the Arts and Humanities, 1987.
- Hudson Urban Renewal Agency. *First Annual Report. People, Places, Progress*. June 1970.
- Hudson Urban Renewal Agency. *Second Annual Report: Hudson Urban Renewal: A Commitment to Progress*. April, 1972.
- "Hudson Working Way Out of Valley." *New York Daily News*. December 8, 1987.
- Jaeger, William. "Contrasting Opposing Forms Safe Formula to Successful Art." *Times Union*. June 6, 1999.
- Jolie, Beau. Personal Interviews. Hudson, New York. 1999-2000.
- Karp, Ivan, C.M. Kreamer, and S.D. Lavine. *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture*. Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992.
- Karp, Ivan. "On Civil Society and Social Identity." In Karp, I., C.M. Kreamer, and S.D. Lavine, eds. *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture*. Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992.
- Kelly, Donald C. "Arts Build Community." *Shelterforce*. January/February 2000. P. 10-13.
- Kisselbrack, Paul. Personal Interview. Hudson, New York. March 2000.
- Klein, Kim. "Raising Money for Progressive Arts and Culture Organizations." *Shelterforce*. January/February 2000, p. 14.
- Kochan, Thomas A., Harry Katz and Robert McKersie. *The Transformation of American Industrial Relations*. New York : Basic Books, 1986.
- Kreisburg , L. "Economic Insurance." In K. Green ed. *The City as A Stage: Strategies for the Arts in Urban Economics*. Washington, D.C.: Partners for Livable Places, 1983.

- Leonardo, Jon. "Social Groups and the Cultural Regeneration of Neighbourhoods." *Culture and Neighborhoods Volume 1 Concepts and References*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing, 1995.
- Lippard, Lucy R. *Mixed Blessings: New Art in a Multicultural America*. New York : Pantheon Books, 1990.
- Loewenstein, William, Executive Director, Hudson Industrial Development Agency in a letter to Orin Lehman, Commissioner of New York State Department of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation, May 29, 1985.
- Mabb, Jack. "WW II Exhibit at TSL." *The Independent*. November 11, 1999.
- Martin, Chris. "Putting History to Work." *Hudson Register Star*. February 18, 1975.
- Mason, John. "Mao Wow to Have Final Show This Evening at TSL." *Register-Star*. June 11, 1999.
- McNulty, Robert H., R. Leo Penne and Dorothy R. Jacobson. *The Economics of Amenity: Community Futures and Quality of Life*. Washington, DC: Partners for Livable Places, 1985.
- McNulty, Robert H., R. Leo Penne and Dorothy R. Jacobson. *The Return of the Livable City: Learning from America's Best*. Washington, DC: Acropolis Press, 1986.
- McNulty, R. P. Jones and L. Green. *Culture and Communities: The Arts in the Life of American Cities*. Washington DC: Partners for Livable Places, 1992.
- Mehalick, S. "The Best Little Warehouse in Hudson." *Metroland*. November 13-19, 1997.
- Mussmann, Linda. Personal Interviews. Hudson, New York. 1999-2000.
- Penne, L. *Arts Space and Economic Development: Experiences in Six Cities*. Washington, DC: Partners for Livable Places, 1986.
- Perin, C. "The Communicative Circle: Museums as Communities." In Karp, Ivan, C.M. Kreamer, and S.D. Lavine, eds. *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture*. Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992.
- Port Authority of New York and New Jersey. *The Arts as an Industry : Their Economic Importance to the New York-New Jersey Metropolitan Region*. New York: Cultural Assistance Center, 1983.
- Radich, Anthony J. *Economic Impact of the Arts: A Sourcebook*. Denver, Colorado: National Conference of State Legislatures, 1987.
- Raymond and May Associates, Planning and Urban Renewal Consultants. *Comprehensive Development Plan*. City of Hudson: New York, 1965.

Raymond, May, Parish and Pine, Planning Consultants. *Urban Design: Principles and Guidelines for Hudson Urban Renewal Project No. 1*. Prepared for Hudson Urban Renewal Agency. August, 1970.

Raymond, Parish and Pine. *Historic Preservation through Urban Renewal: Hudson New York Reconnaissance Study*. December, 1969.

Sassen, Saskia. *The Global City : New York, London, Tokyo*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991.

Schram, Margaret. "Columbia's Lost Communities and Forgotten Names." *The Independent*. April 14, 1988.

Snead, James B. Personal Interview. Hudson, NY. March 2000.

Scott, Allen. "The Cultural Economy of Cities." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Volume 21: No. 2, 1997, pp. 323-339.

Seeley, Thomas. "Time and Space Gives Back to the Community Columbia County." *The Independent*. August 29, 1996.

Stover, Candice. "Songs that Go to the Truth." *Hope*. Winter 2000.

US Conference of Mayors. *The Taxpayers' Revolt and the Arts: A US Conference of Mayors Position Paper*. Washington, D.C.: US Conference of Mayors, 1978.

Violette, Caroline and Rachelle Taquu, eds. *Issues in Supporting the Arts*. New York: Cornell University, Graduate School of Business and Public Administration, 1982.

Wei Tchen, John Kuo. "Creating a Dialogic Museum: The Chinatown History Museum Experiment." In Karp, Ivan, C.M. Kreamer, and S.D. Lavine, eds. *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture*. Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992.

Whitt, J. Allen. "Mozart in the Metropolis: The Arts Coalition and the Urban Growth Machine." *Urban Affairs Quarterly* Volume 23 No. 1 September, 1987, pp. 15-35.